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WILLIAM BOYD ALLISON

(Late a Senator from Iowa)

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

Sixtieth Congress
Second Session

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
February 6, 1909

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
February 21, 1909

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DEATH OF SENATOR WILLIAM B. ALLISON

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE

MONDAY, *December 7, 1908.*

Mr. DOLLIVER. Mr. President, it is a painful duty to announce to the Senate the death of Senator ALLISON. He died at his home in Dubuque on the 4th day of August.

At a future time, at the convenience of the Senate, I will ask that an hour be set aside for suitable tributes to his memory. I offer the resolutions which I send to the desk, and ask for their adoption.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Iowa submits resolutions, which will be read by the Secretary.

The resolutions were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. WILLIAM BOYD ALLISON, for more than thirty-five years a Senator from the State of Iowa.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Mr. DOLLIVER. Mr. President, as a further tribute of respect to the memory of the late Senator ALLISON, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to, and (at 12 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, December 8, 1908, at 12 o'clock meridian.

TUESDAY, *December 8, 1908.*

A message from the House of Representatives transmitted resolutions of the House on the death of Hon. WILLIAM BOYD ALLISON, late a Senator from the State of Iowa.

SATURDAY, *February 6, 1909.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward E. Hale, offered the following prayer:

Let us praise famous men and our fathers who begot us. The Lord hath wrought great glory by them through His great power from the beginning. Leaders of the people by their counsel and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people, wise and eloquent in their instructions. All these were honored in their generations and were the glory of their times. There be of them that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported. And some there will be who have no memorial, who are perished as they had never been. But these were merciful men, whose righteousness hath not been forgotten. The people will tell of their wisdom and the congregation will show forth their praise.

Let us pray.

Father, we praise Thee, we thank Thee, every day of our lives we thank Thee, for the fathers who were before us, for the men who made this country, for that country whose God is the Lord, for the men who made this Senate and the House of Representatives, who ordained this Government of the people, for the people, by the people.

We thank the living God; and we ask Thee, Father, to be with us, the children and the children's children of these men, to lead us where we need leading, to teach us always, to enliven us with the Holy Spirit, with Thy divine light.

We remember before Thee those men who in this Senate have led it forward in dignity and honor before this people. Bless

them. Bless us. Be with this people, Father, as a father with his children. We ask it in Christ Jesus.

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen.

The Vice-President being absent, the President pro tempore took the chair.

Mr. DOLLIVER. Mr. President, I offer resolutions for present consideration.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Iowa submits resolutions and asks for their present consideration. The resolutions will be read.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows:

Resolved, That it is with deep regret and profound sorrow that the Senate has heard the announcement of the death of Hon. WILLIAM B. ALLISON, late a Senator from the State of Iowa.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the business of the Senate be now suspended to enable his associates to pay fitting tribute to his high character and distinguished services.

Resolved, That the Secretary transmit to the family of the deceased a copy of these resolutions, with the action of the Senate thereon.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

The resolutions were considered by unanimous consent and unanimously agreed to.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

Address of Mr. Dolliver, of Iowa

Mr. President: The death of Senator Allison has removed from American public life a statesman everywhere recognized as among the greatest and most useful public servants of the past fifty years. His career will always be famous, not only because of the important questions with which he was associated but also because his career in the Senate was longer than that of any other Senator in the history of the Government. If he had lived until the 4th of March he would have completed thirty-six years of uninterrupted service in this Chamber. Prior to his election to the Senate he had served eight years in the House of Representatives. With a break of only two years he served in Congress more than forty-three years. This unprecedented term of office not only gave to his later years an extraordinary influence in the leadership of national affairs but made his old age venerable, surrounding him with the reverence of his colleagues and of all who were his coworkers in the administration of national government. His character commanded the respect of all, and his personality attracted to him the good will and affection of all.

William Boyd Allison was born at Perry, Ohio, March 2, 1829; so that at the time of his death, August 4, 1908, he was approaching 80 years of age. After completing his studies at the Western Reserve College, he began the practice of law at Ashland, Ohio, taking an active interest in politics and obtaining a fair measure of success in his profession. Before he had

reached the age of 30 years, however, he made up his mind that a better chance for distinction and success could be found in the West, and accordingly he joined the great procession which was moving toward the new States beyond the Mississippi. He resumed the practice of law at Dubuque, Iowa, in 1857, and immediately came to the front as a leader in all the affairs of that thriving little city. He was recognized by his neighbors as a man of unusual gifts and attainments. The same qualities that gave to his later years such grace and charm of manner surrounded his early manhood with a widening circle of friends and friendly influence. He was a delegate in the convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency. When the civil war came on, a friend and neighbor of his youth in Ohio, Samuel J. Kirkwood, became governor of Iowa.

Mr. ALLISON was already engaged in organizing a regiment when the old war governor sent for him and pressed upon him his duty to aid the State in the military preparations, which were everywhere in progress, by accepting a special assignment on the executive's staff. Senator ALLISON was often heard to express his regret that he did not have the opportunity to take the field with the troops which he organized, but the record of the adjutant-general's office at Des Moines shows that he rendered the country an invaluable service in doing, with painstaking care, the work which was given him to do. So universal was the recognition of his public service that the old Dubuque district chose him as its Representative in the Thirty-eighth Congress. This election to Congress brought him to the capital in the midst of the struggle for the national life. He at once took up the hard problems with which the Government had to deal in supporting its armies aad caring for the public interests connected with its administration. He was, from his entrance into the House of Representatives, a leader in that

great popular assembly. He devoted himself with untiring energy to the practical questions with which the legislation of those days was concerned. His favorite studies related to the collection and disbursement of the public revenues and to the intricate problems of finance with which the Government was face to face every day.

He was a quiet, patient worker and student, and those who remember him at that period of his public life have borne testimony that his rise in influence in the House of Representatives was steady and continuous from the beginning. It has been truly said that the House of Representatives subjects its Members to an ordeal so severe that no man can join the company of its leadership without the unquestioned possession of the talents and habits of mind which such a position exacts. Yet, even in the first term of his service, Mr. ALLISON commended himself to his colleagues as a man fit for the highest responsibilities of the House, and in his second term he was appointed a member of the Ways and Means Committee, which at that time, even more than it does now, dominated the proceedings of the House. This position also gave him the opportunity to lay the foundation of that profound knowledge of the revenue system of the United States which made him an authority on that and kindred subjects in this body.

A single illustration will show the general character of the work which engaged his attention. He was the author—in so far as one man may be said to be the author of a great public policy—of the reform in the internal-revenue laws of the United States by which the tax on spirits was delivered from the frauds which for many years had almost extinguished that source of income, by making its collection both burdensome and unmanageable. His scheme for the administration of the internal-revenue system, while it has been frequently modified in

minor particulars by subsequent legislation, remains until this day substantially as he framed it.

The conspicuous influence of Mr ALLISON in the House of Representatives gave him such universal popular favor in Iowa that at the end of eight years he declined renomination in order to become a candidate for Senator. He represented the ambitions of the younger men of the State, and his entrance into the field as a candidate was in the nature of a challenge to the political management which had long controlled the politics of the State. He was compelled to carry on his campaign under many disadvantages, and while he did not succeed in his ambition, he established so wide an acquaintance and gained so firm a hold on the public good will that his friends counted his defeat as only a temporary reverse, and did not hesitate to present his name as a candidate two years later against James Harlan, then the most famous and influential western man in public life. This political battle has been ever since memorable in Iowa politics, and when it ended in the election of Senator ALLISON it marked the beginning of a political era with which his name and fame will always be associated in the history of the State.

I desire now to say a few words about the personal characteristics which enabled this young man, without money or influential connections, to overthrow the formidable political influences which surrounded Senator Harlan, supported, as he was, by the administration at Washington, of which he was in some respects the most famous and honored champion in the Senate of the United States. In the first place, it need hardly be said that the people of Iowa recognized Senator ALLISON'S fine equipment and preparation for public affairs. In the next place, he had the peculiar qualities of mind and heart which inspire among the younger men of the State a personal allegiance

which followed him all the days of his life. His approach to the people had in it a kindliness of manner and of speech which gave him access to the hearts of men and made them feel that he took an interest in their welfare and appreciated their support. In all this there was no affectation; it was the natural expression of his character. The same qualities which the young men of Iowa found in him at the beginning of his career kept him near to the people throughout his political life. He never failed in helpful counsel to those who were seeking a foothold in public affairs. He encouraged the younger men to press forward to the goal of their ambitions. With him it was a privilege, as well as a duty, to help others.

In the long list of those who have represented the various Iowa districts in the House of Representatives since he left it, there has not been one who did not look up to Senator ALLISON as a friend and helper in his work. During the long period in which he presided over the Iowa delegation he invariably effaced himself and his own plans in his desire to aid his colleagues and to give them a share of the prestige and recognition belonging to the public service. It is not a common thing to refer to such a matter on an occasion like this, and yet there ought to be a public record made of it, that in his Senatorial career he never sought to control the appointment of any man to an office. He regarded his colleagues in the House of Representatives as his constituents as well as representatives of each community within the State, and so when the appointment of an Iowa man to any office within the gift of the President was sought, the request came not from him, but from the whole delegation. And with such a nice sense of fairness and justice were the offices divided among the congressional districts that every portion of the State found itself represented, and every Member of Congress came to feel that Senator ALLISON had no interest at stake

in the distribution of official positions except the public welfare and the peace and harmony of the political party of which he was the leader.

It is an interesting and unique circumstance that throughout his period of service in the Senate he exercised in our local politics, in addition to his own vote in the conference of the delegation, only that influence which arose from the belief of his colleagues that his motives in the guidance of their affairs were absolutely free from selfish interest. It is certain that this characteristic of his leadership gave to Senator ALLISON a place in the general good will of our people which not even the infirmities of age and the near approach of death were able to disturb. It is certain, also, that the relation which he assumed toward those with whom he was associated in public duties was responsible for that freedom from personal contention which he enjoyed throughout his public life, and which in a certain sense released his energies from the petty disputes of politics and enabled him to give to his public duties an unencumbered attention. He was happily situated. His reelections to the Senate came to him as a matter of course, without dissent, and without controversy. The State of Iowa was free from a great variety of disputed questions about Indians, public lands, forest reservations and similar matters, which take up so much of the time of Congress.

And so it came about that the larger business of the Government was never out of his mind, until at length he was looked upon everywhere as the master of the practical details of legislation without a rival in this body. Other men were more eloquent than he; others possibly were more deeply versed in the subtleties of constitutional interpretation; but when it came to the real conduct of the Government, the raising of its revenues, and their expenditure, the Senate and the country turned instinc-

tively to Senator ALLISON. We sometimes think that the proceedings of Congress are all set down in the daily Record. So far as what is said is concerned, that is partly true of the House and altogether true of the Senate, but behind these daily proceedings, when great issues are at stake, upon which the opinions of men are divided, the real proceedings of Congress lie outside of the Record, in those interchanges of opinion which gradually mold into form the propositions which at length find their way into the statute book.

The most obvious thing about Senator ALLISON'S biography is the fact that his most valuable service, the service which enabled the party to which he belonged to go forward in the discharge of its responsibility to the country with a certain measure of unity, was not put down in any written record, but belongs to those hours of fruitful consultation, where the wisdom of the old leader was proved equal to every emergency. It was because it bore this relation to our public affairs that in his public utterances, in debate, and in speeches before the people he avoided dogmatism even in its most attractive forms, and made room in the expression of his opinions for those differences which he knew would be encountered sooner or later, giving leeway for composing those disagreements which he knew must be composed before anything could be actually done. He was sometimes the object of satire in the press, and even on this floor—a mild satire which he enjoyed as much as anybody else—because he withheld the final statement of what he desired to have done until he had completed the task of bringing the conflicting opinions of the Senate to some proposition upon which a majority could agree.

In that task, imposed upon him by common consent of his colleagues, he would have been a failure if he had begun by advertising what he intended to do and by disparaging the

views and suggestions of everybody else. And so it happened that he lost the renown that belongs to a certain type of statesmanship in gaining the influence which enabled him to bring order out of every chaos of legislation, and thus to carry forward the work of Congress. Thus it happened that while everybody has understood in a general way the value of Senator ALLISON'S labors in the Senate, only those who have been familiar with the mechanism of our Government and the difficulties that lie across the path of every great proposal of legislation have given him the full credit as a statesman to which he is entitled in the distribution of honors in the arena of legislative activity. There are upon the statute books a good many laws which bear, in popular parlance, the name of some reputed author. Yet it requires very little knowledge of the course of legislation to see how insecure such a title to fame actually is, for there is no statute of importance which does not bear upon it the marks of the labors of many men, and when it is named for anyone it is usually for mere convenience rather than for a more substantial reason. Oftentimes the real authors of the measure, those who have given the most effective attention to its framing and its enactment, are overlooked altogether. It was a peculiar trait of Senator ALLISON that while every important act of Congress for a whole generation has had the benefit of his judgment and bears the evidences of his legislative skill, yet he was never overanxious to put his own name on any of them, or even to divide with others the passing celebrity of their authorship.

Early in his senatorial service it came within the line of his duty to frame the present government of the District of Columbia on principles that have not only worked well here, but have become the basis of a reform in municipal government which now promises to be general throughout the United States. Yet few citizens of the District, even among those whose memories

go back to the time when the District government was operated for the benefit of contractors and local politicians, ever think of Senator ALLISON in connection with the reform which made the modern city of Washington possible. Few men, even among those who have written histories of the transaction, connect the name of Senator ALLISON with the act of Congress for the resumption of specie payments; yet, although he was among the younger Members of the Senate, he was one of a subcommittee which framed that act, and his knowledge of the subject was so generally appreciated in the Senate that he was appointed a member of the Finance Committee and given a potent voice in its deliberations from that time on. There were few men in either House of Congress who gave to the coinage question a profounder study than he; but it is not generally known that we owe to him more than to any other man the adoption of those measures which saved the United States from the uncertainties which would have followed the free coinage of silver, at a time when the majority of both Houses of Congress were committed to that experiment.

In more recent years, as a member of the Committee on Finance, Senator ALLISON occupied a foremost place among the leaders who have shaped the financial and industrial policy of the Government. His labors in the Senate, while including practically every subject with which Congress has had to deal, were confined mainly to the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Finance. He became a member of the former when he entered the Senate, while his services on the Finance Committee date from the Forty-fifth Congress. In 1881 he became chairman of the Appropriations Committee, and in that position his most significant public service was rendered. That great committee, especially in these later years, has not only had to do with the national budget, but the pressure upon the

time of Congress has so increased that the appropriation bills have often carried far-reaching acts of legislation affecting the greatest possible variety of subjects. It was in the work of that committee that Senator ALLISON was most at home. The late Senator Hoar says of him in his Autobiography of Seventy Years:

> He has controlled more than any other man, indeed, more than any other ten men, the vast and constantly increasing public expenditures, amounting to more than a thousand millions annually. It has been an economical and wise expenditure. That is a knowledge in which nobody else in the Senate, except Senator Hale of Maine and Senator Cockrell of Missouri, can compare with him.

But the business of the Appropriations Committee did not by any means absorb all his energies. Senator ALLISON was a student of our tariff problems throughout his public life, and for accuracy of knowledge and painstaking research no statesman of his time outranks him. Among all the numerous changes which have taken place in the tariff laws during the last thirty years it may be with truth said that the hand of Senator ALLISON is seen in every one. He was a member of the subcommittee which prepared the tariff law of 1883. The historic revision of 1890, which gave to William McKinley a parliamentary renown hardly overshadowed by the presidential office, was more truly the work of the Finance Committee of the Senate than of the Ways and Means Committee of the House. In the previous Congress, after the Mills bill had passed the House, it was referred in the Senate committee to a subcommittee, of which Senator ALLISON was the chairman. The whole bill, in form and in substance, was recast, and a Senate substitute prepared under Senator ALLISON'S immediate direction, with arduous labor lasting far into the summer, approved by the Committee on Finance and reported to the Senate by Senator ALLISON. That measure became the basis upon which

General Harrison's campaign for the Presidency was made. It was debated in the Senate until the adjournment of Congress in October, and in the session after the presidential election Senator ALLISON'S substitute for the Mills bill passed the Senate. So that when the new Congress convened in the December following, the Ways and Means Committee had before it the tariff bill which, with only minor alterations, passed into history as the McKinley law of 1890.

In the same Congress, the law reforming the customs administration, framed by a subcommittee of which Senator ALLISON was chairman, was reported to the Senate, and under his guidance passed this body—first as an independent measure and afterwards as a part of the Senate substitute for the Mills bill. In the Fifty-first Congress Mr. McKinley introduced the measure with a few unimportant changes. It passed the House; the Senate restored it to the exact form in which Senator ALLISON had framed it, and it is known now as the administrative customs act of 1890. It will be seen, therefore, that the credit, in a just measure, of laying the foundation of the existing administrative system applicable to our internal taxation, and to our customs revenue as well, belongs to Senator ALLISON. His incomparable genius for legislation was exhibited even after his failing strength began to admonish him that the night was coming when no man can work. He probably never set himself to a more difficult or a more important task than when, in the Fifty-ninth Congress, after the pending amendment to the interstate commerce law had torn the Senate into contending factions, filling the country with all forms of clamor and suspicion, the old leader, in broken health, but with faculties unimpaired, brought Congress to a realization of its duty, and, without sacrificing the convictions of any Senator, united all parties and all factions in the passage of that great measure.

We may not doubt that there will be occasions in the future when the Senate will need the counsel and guidance of Senator ALLISON. But it is not too much to believe that the lessons of toleration and respect for the opinions of others which are taught in the life of this great American statesman will never lose their influence in the Government of the United States. For, after all, it is not of the exploits of a parliamentary leader, nor the achievements of an experienced legislator, that we are thinking to-day. It is rather the quiet, courtly life he lived among us, the helpful things he did, the gentle and gracious words he used to speak, which are in our hearts at this hour and will be kept in our memories while we live. Already the Senate, departing from the custom of a long time, has directed that a picture of him shall be hung in a corridor of the Capitol by the side of the favorite statesmen of other generations.

The people of Iowa who followed him with loving confidence for nearly half a century, even down to the valley of the shadow of death, will build a monument to him within the borders of the State which gave him his high commission, and will ask permission to erect a statue here, that the affection and reverence of the Nation which gave a crown of peculiar glory to his old age may have a permanent expression in the Capital where the great work of his life was done.

Address of Mr. Hale, of Maine

It is not difficult, Mr. President, to make a proper estimate of the character and public service of the late Senator from Iowa, for the reason that, high as was that character and remarkable as was his public service, all his great contributions to legislation and his protracted service and continuous unfaltering labor, with their marked and influential results, were open as the day.

Senator Allison's temperament and his connection with the great working committees in both Houses of Congress, in each of which he had long service, brought him to the consideration of every really important question and subject which from year to year has interested the American people. He dealt with all these questions in a plain, straightforward way, and brought to the task of maturing wise legislation unbounded good sense, fidelity of purpose, and a capacity for sustained labor such as no other man whom I have personally known in public life in either House has ever possessed.

There was nothing sensational in his nature. He was not excitable. He was not vain or egotistic. He never sought to attract public attention. He never posed for the galleries. I do not think, in his very long service, that he ever once gave notice that on a selected day he would make a speech; but, from the beginning of his career in Congress, he bent his whole mind and summoned all his energies to the thoughtful consideration of every question that arose involving the real interests of the American people. And, as the years passed, this character and temperament and this useful service made him more and

more an authority in Congress until at last, and for long years in his later senatorial life, he stood without an equal or a rival as the arbiter and director in almost every field of legislation.

His term of service in the two Houses, beginning in the middle of the civil war and extending from that with hardly a break for more than forty years, covered a period which witnessed the discussions and conflicts that arose over every great question which for half a century has interested and aroused the people of this Republic. The conduct of the great war, the reconstruction measures, the amendments to the Constitution, the restoration of the States, the financial policy of administrations and parties, the tariff, the currency, the intervention by the General Government into the business of corporations—upon all these, the fullest information was at the fingers' ends of the late Senator from Iowa. In any given emergency he knew better what to do and what could be done than any other Member of Congress or of any branch of the Government, and it was well for the Republic when his admonition and counsel were heeded and his mental processes were crystallized into the laws of the land.

He was a factor in the House of Representatives. He was the unquestioned leader in the Senate. He headed great commissions that investigated important subjects in foreign lands. He more than once declined service as a Cabinet officer at the head of leading departments, and he came very near to the Presidency. He had almost perfect equipment for that great place, and when he came so nigh and then missed, his calm mind was never ruffled by his defeat, and no man, however near to him or how well he might know his incomings and outgoings, ever, either in action or speech, saw him influenced in his course by the memory of disappointment and failure. He would take all things as they came to him, whether of success or failure,

and placidly abide the result. He knew how, as John Burroughs expresses it, "to serenely fold his hands and wait."

His sterling qualities, joined with what I may call great shrewdness and unbounded tact, kept him from making enemies, and yet preserved through his long life the increasing respect, regard, and affection of his friends.

What shall I say, Mr. President, about his other side? His generous heart, the "unexhausted kindliness which glowed like daily sunrise there," his patience, his charity, his magnanimity, and the love which he felt for the friends who were nearest and dearest to him, and the love which he inspired in turn from them.

Into this domain I can not enter far. An acquaintance, formed forty years ago, had ripened into what I believe was a real friendship between Senator ALLISON and me. I dwell with pleasure upon the years of this long attachment, but I realize, Mr. President, that on my side of that friendship there was fault, and that, I fear, too often. I waken in the night and turn on my pillow with the sad recollection of my inadequacy. I was not as kind and considerate and gentle as he, but his great mantle of charity covered my transgressions, and in his heart was a wellspring of forgiveness.

How we shall miss him all of us know. For me, I am sure that the remainder of my service will never be to me personally what it was when he was present. It can never be what it was when I was his companion and friend and he was my exalted and accepted leader.

Address of Mr. Teller, of Colorado

Mr. President: My acquaintance with Senator Allison began with my admission to the Senate over thirty-two years ago. He had then been a Member of the Senate for three years and had already earned for himself an enviable position in this body. I early learned to admire him for his strength of character and his many excellent qualities of mind and heart, and formed for him a sincere friendship, which continued unbroken until the day of his death.

It will be but a feeble tribute that I shall pay to his memory to-day. I can only say a few words, which will in nowise express my feelings as to the loss sustained by this body and by the country at large in the death of this distinguished Senator.

William Boyd Allison was born at Perry, Ohio, March 2, 1829. He attended the academy at Wooster, Ohio, two years, and spent one year at the once somewhat famous Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. He commenced the study of law in 1848, and in 1850 was admitted to the bar. In 1856 he supported John C. Fremont for President, and in 1857 he removed to Dubuque, Iowa, and resumed the practice of law. He took an active part in politics, was a delegate to the Republican state convention of 1859, and was a delegate to the Republican national convention at Chicago in 1860.

He was appointed on Governor Kirkwood's staff at the commencement of the civil war and assisted in the organization of the Iowa volunteers. He was elected to the Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, and Forty-first Congresses. In 1870 he

declined a nomination for Congress and became a candidate for the United States Senate, but he failed of an election; in 1872 he was a successful candidate against the Hon. James Harlan, and took his seat in the Senate March 3, 1873. He was reelected in 1878, 1884, 1890, 1896, and 1902. He received a majority of the votes of his party at a primary election in June, 1908, for reelection, and if he had lived would have been reelected. He served thirty-five years and five months continuously in the United States Senate, having been elected for thirty-six years, making a record for length of senatorial service never before equaled.

While a Member of the House of Representatives he took an active part in the legislation of that period, and in the Thirty-ninth Congress he became a member of the Committee on Ways and Means. On his admission to the Senate, in 1873, he was assigned to the Committees on Appropriations, Indian Affairs, and Pensions. He was chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs in the Forty-fourth Congress (1875) and became a member of the Committee on Finance during the Forty-fifth Congress (1877).

He became chairman of the Committee on Appropriations during the first session of the Forty-seventh Congress (1881), and retained that position for twenty-six years, and was chairman of the committee at the time of his death, which occurred at Dubuque, Iowa, on the 4th of August, 1908, having been a member of that important committee for the entire period of his service in the Senate.

President Garfield tendered him the Treasury portfolio, which he declined, and the same position was offered him in 1888 by President Harrison, but he did not accept it.

President McKinley offered him the position of Secretary of State, but he declined this much-sought-after position in the

public service, because he believed he could be of greater benefit to the people of his State and of the country at large in the chosen field of his life work—the Senate.

During his senatorial service he gave much consideration to financial questions. In 1878 he was a member of the Committee on Finance, and was influential in securing the passage of an act for the coinage of silver, usually denominated the "Bland-Allison Act."

In 1892 he was the chairman of the American delegates who attended the International Monetary Conference in Brussels, in which conference he took an active and important part, contending for the use of both gold and silver in the monetary system of the world, and while his services in that conference secured nothing for his contention, he demonstrated his knowledge of and acquaintance with the history of monetary affairs throughout the world, and his services were highly appreciated by both bimetallists and monometallists, especially of his own country. While he doubted the ability of the United States alone to restore silver to its former relations to gold, he believed it quite possible for that to be done by international agreement.

Although he was a bimetallist, when his party adopted in its platform at St. Louis in 1896 the gold standard, he accepted its determination and loyally supported its candidate for President with zeal and ability.

His long service on the Committees on Appropriations and Finance made him familiar with the financial and economic conditions of the country, and at the time of his death he was an authority in the Senate on all questions concerning revenue and expenditures.

He was a firm believer in the doctrine of protection to American industries and American labor; he took an active part in the preparation and passage of all tariff laws that have been

enacted since he entered public life, yet he was tolerant of those who differed with him on the subject and recognized in debate and otherwise that his opponents were actuated by the same patriotic sentiment in their opposition that he was in his support. He was kind and courteous in debate on all subjects, and his influence was felt on all subjects which he supported or opposed.

He was kind and considerate in his intercourse with his fellows. His death was a loss to the State he had honored by his service here and also to the nation. It may be said of him, as Cicero said of another, "boni senatoris prudentia;" he had the wisdom of a good Senator.

Address of Mr. Aldrich, of Rhode Island

Mr. President: The judgment of contemporaries as to the estimate that should properly be placed upon the life and services of a public man may not be infallible; the lines of our perspective may be obscured by personal admiration or affection; but making allowance for this, we can, I believe, feel sure that the future historian, having in view the record of his work and achievements, will give Senator Allison a place in the first rank of the statesmen of his time.

He was a master of the arts of conciliation and construction. Other men have been more brilliant in debate; others have been more frequently in the public eye; the work of others has appealed more strongly to the passions and sensibilities of men, but no one has left a greater impress upon the useful legislation of his generation than he. He had a wider and better knowledge than any of all parts of our governmental machinery, and he knew better than any what provision was necessary for its successful and efficient operation.

His active work in the Senate was largely in connection with the Committee on Appropriations, of which he was for so long the chairman. The character and magnitude of his work in this connection has been described by other Senators. Personally I was more familiar with his service on the Committee on Finance. For twenty-seven years I was associated with him in the active work of that committee, of which he was always an influential member. These years of constant association and close companionship were to me the source of ever-present and unalloyed satisfaction and delight. Their memory will remain

with me forever. During Senator ALLISON'S membership he took a leading part in the preparation and discussion of all the legislation reported from the committee. Under his leadership early in his public career the internal-revenue laws, especially those in reference to the collection of the taxes upon distilled spirits, were thoroughly reconstructed. In association with the late Senator Beck and myself, he prepared the customs administrative bill of 1888, which became a law two years later, and which created a new organization and new methods for the collection of the revenue from customs. These two acts furnished, perhaps, the best evidence of the Senator's constructive ability. Senator ALLISON took a leading part in the preparation and enactment of the tariff laws of 1883, 1890, and 1897. I was associated with him for months in the labor of preparation of the tariff bill of 1888, which involved an entire reconstruction of the methods of classifying and imposing the duties upon customs, as well as a complete revision of the rates. This bill furnished the basis of the act of 1890, known as the "McKinley bill."

Senator ALLISON reported from the committee the national bank act of 1882, which made important changes in the system. He took an important part in all the financial legislation which was considered or adopted during his long service in the Senate. He was a leading member of the subcommittee that prepared and reported the gold standard act of 1900. He was a careful student of all these subjects and the wide range of his knowledge of all was remarkable.

I have presented but a brief outline of the Senator's invaluable services in connection with the important subjects referred to the Finance Committee, but the influence of the Senator upon the legislation of the Senate was not, by any means, confined to measures reported from the Committees on Appro-

priations or Finance. He gave to every question of importance pending in the Senate careful and thoughtful consideration, and his opinions on all were given great and controlling weight by his associates.

The wisdom of his judgment and his intelligent industry made him a leader of the Senate. An acknowledged leader, he never paraded his powers of leadership, and was apparently unconscious of their existence. His position in the Senate was unique; he was oldest in service, wisest in counsel, the friend and mentor of all. He was at all times genial and kind, considerate and helpful of others. No one came within the circle of his acquaintance without being attracted by the irresistible charm of his personality, which never faded. He was ever calm, patient, industrious. He was never aggressive or sensational in his methods, but always seeking through sensible measures to secure the best practical results.

Through the death of Senator ALLISON the Senate loses its foremost member. The loss to the Senate and the country comes at a time when we can ill afford to be deprived of his wisdom and the benefit of his experience. Confronted with a rapidly increasing number of complex and important problems for solution, may we not hope that, while we mourn the loss of the counsel and assistance of our dear friend, the lessons of his life will incite us to greater efforts and inspire us with greater strength and faith to meet the exacting demands of the future?

Address of Mr. Bacon, of Georgia

Mr. President: When last a similar duty and privilege were mine, standing a few months ago in this place, I offered my feeble tribute to the memory of a young man 32 years of age, whose service in the Senate had been of the brief space of less than two months.

To-day, when performing the same office for another, I lay my brief offering upon the bier of the veteran Senator who, when at the close of the last session of Congress he last passed without the doors of this Chamber, had reached the eightieth year of his age, and for more than thirty-five consecutive years had represented his State in the Senate. Strikingly remarkable indeed is the record of that service.

As has been already stated to-day, in its length it surpassed that of any other Senator from the foundation of the Government to the present day. But remarkable as is the number of years which, each as link joined to link, made up the lengthened term, the character of that service was even more noteworthy than was its unprecedented length.

Prepared by eight years of prior service in the House of Representatives, the records of his work show that immediately upon his entry into the Senate he began actively and efficiently the prosecution of labors which are usually undertaken by Senators only after the lapse of years of senatorial service. I will not particularize as to his great career in the Senate during more than a third of a century; but it is safely within the facts to say that in the debates and in the final enactment of measures he strongly impressed his work upon every piece of im-

portant legislation which was enacted by Congress during the eventful period of his service here.

He was not quick to press himself to the front in the active debates in the Senate. Nevertheless in the final stages of almost every important controverted and difficult question, his were most frequently the words which in the end determined the fate of the measure, and, if successful, the shape it should finally bear; and when, as was often the case, his party associates were upon any question divided in their views and wishes, it was he who was looked to by them to find the acceptable ground upon which the factions finally united in harmonious action; and where no political question was involved, his influence in the shaping of legislation was as potential with Democratic Senators as it was with those of his own political faith. Confidence in his adamantine integrity, in his unswerving fidelity to the public interest, in his extended familiarity with all governmental affairs, and in the correctness of his well-poised judgment was as implicit and as manifest in its practical expression on this side of the Chamber as it was among his political fellows on the other side of the aisle.

In the full enjoyment of this well-earned and general confidence it is not to be wondered that he thus made his strong impress upon the important legislation of more than three and a half decades.

And yet, marked and notable as is this fact, if called upon to specify the most distinguishing feature in his remarkable senatorial career, I would not point to his connection with and influence upon the great legislative events of his day, each of which stands out in historic prominence, but I would say that this most distinguishing feature was found in his unostentatious, unwearied labor of thirty-five years, his devotion to that wide-reaching work, requiring continuous study, thought,

and care, and exacting from him never-flagging industry, a labor prompted by an innate fidelity to duty so natural that in him it was unconscious—a labor guided by large experience and evenly balanced judgment, through which in large measure the complex, intricate, and vast machinery of this great Government has been during this long term of years kept in successful operation.

His mind and memory were a great storehouse of knowledge of the needs and resources of the Government, and the Senate at all times leaned upon him as upon a strong and all-sustaining staff. His relation to the Senate was that of the trusted pilot to the ship, with vision keen and hand unerring, guiding it past the sunken rocks and round the threatening shoals, through the deepening channel to the safe and restful harbor.

Before disease had laid its wasting hand upon him, Senator ALLISON was in his person unusually handsome and engaging. His figure was large and well proportioned. His head was massive and shapely. His features were clear-cut, and in their expression there was the not to be mistaken evidence of both gentleness and strength, each in marked degree. His courtesy, both in debate and in personal intercourse, was unvarying. No one who knew him can forget the kindly eye and the ever-ready smile, the silent messengers which told of the tender and sympathetic heart within.

Mr. President, in the years of my association with him here I have never heard one Senator say of him an unkind, an ungenerous, or a harsh word. His memory is to each and all of us a cherished possession. We all loved him as a brother and we each venerated him as a father, and it is not a formal but a heartfelt tribute of affection which we pay to him to-day.

Sir, in all these years I have been so accustomed to see him here that it is difficult for me to realize that I shall not again

see his familiar form in this Chamber, and at times I almost again look for him to enter and take his accustomed seat, the second from the aisle. And who is there who does not in memory now see him walk from that seat across the front of the desk and out by that door which leads to the room of the Committee on Appropriations, the scene of his unremitting labors?

Mr. President, my term of service here has been short indeed when compared with his. And yet there are but 12 Senators now members of the body who were here when my first term began, and on March 4 that number will be reduced to 10. Many of those who have gone from among us still survive and are engaged in other fields, but not a few of them shall be no more seen of men. As we look around, memory again places them in their accustomed seats and again brings back to us the echoes of the familiar voices of the men with whom, since my brief service, we have labored and associated here.

ALLISON, Voorhees, Sherman, Harris, of Tennessee; Walthall, Morrill, George, Hoar, Gear, Vest, Gibson, Hawley, Palmer, White, of California; Whyte, of Maryland; Platt, of Connecticut; Gordon, Gorman, Proctor, Jones, of Arkansas; Morgan, Wolcott, Sewell, Pettus, Hanna, Mitchell, of Wisconsin; McMillan, Davis, of Minnesota; Mallory, Shoup, Earle, Bate, Caffery, Vilas, Bryan, Latimer, and Carmack.

Long indeed is the lengthening list of those who in the mists of the vanishing years beckon us on to the shadowy land.

> We are such stuff
> As dreams are made on, and our little life
> Is rounded with a sleep.

Address of Mr. Cullom, of Illinois

Mr. President: To speak the praises of the late distinguished Senator from Iowa, with whom I served in Congress for thirty-two years, is to me a labor of gratitude and love.

Senator Allison, whose death we are commemorating to-day, was an American citizen of the very highest type. For half a century he stood before the country as one of the foremost statesmen, a man of perfect moral proportions, and one of whose integrity, honesty, and purity of purpose there was never either private or public question.

His career was remarkable in the annals of our public life—indeed I am not sure but that in many respects it was the most remarkable career of any statesman in our history. Away back in 1855 a delegate to the Ohio state convention, presided over by John Sherman, that nominated Salmon P. Chase for governor of Ohio; an active supporter of Fremont in 1856; a delegate and one of the secretaries of the convention of 1860 that nominated Abraham Lincoln for President; Representative in Congress; Senator almost ever since; his public life forms a complete legislative history of the United States for nearly fifty years, and was coincident with the life of the Republican party from its very beginning.

I first became acquainted with Senator Allison on becoming a Member of Congress in 1865. He had preceded me one term, and, although only at the beginning of his second term, he was made a member of the great Committee on Ways and Means, and I found that even then he was regarded as among the

ablest and most influential of the western Members. We at once became friends, and it is a pleasure for me to think that the friendship formed forty-five years ago continued until his death.

There was never a more momentous period in our history than in the dark days of 1863, when Senator ALLISON entered Congress. The civil war was raging, there had been no decisive Union victories, the battle of Gettysburg had not been fought, and it was thought that the fate of the Union was trembling in the balance (although I never myself believed that it was written in the book of fate that this Union should be dissolved); we were a divided nation, sorely afflicted, passing through a baptism of fire and blood. He lived to see the Union saved, the nation cemented more closely together than ever, to see the country which he had served so long and so well increase threefold in population and wealth, and take a foremost place among the nations of the world.

Senator ALLISON's conspicuous service in the House, as I recollect it, and as the records show, pertained principally to appropriations and finance, the refunding of the debt, reduction of internal taxation, revision of the tariff, and kindred legislation.

From the very beginning of his congressional career he made a specialty of matters pertaining to finance, and he finally became one of the recognized authorities on financial questions. He was not a high-tariff advocate. The sentiment in Iowa, just as in Illinois, was not in favor of a high tariff. Hence it was that during my service in both the House and Senate I was always glad to work in harmony with Senator ALLISON in reference to all matters pertaining to the tariff.

It has been said that Senator ALLISON was a conservative, if I might term it as such, all his life, and so he was in a sense. During his younger years, however, as a Member of the House,

he was not the quiet, conservative man, never saying an unkind word in reference to anyone, that he was after he came to the Senate. Indeed, on some occasions in the House he was notably aggressive.

He was specially bitter toward President Johnson. I remember very well his speech on the violation of the tenure-of-office act and the bitterness with which he attacked President Johnson. His language on that occasion was such that those who knew him intimately here would scarcely believe he was capable of uttering it. He denounced President Johnson in unmeasured terms, and urged that he be impeached and removed from office; that unless he was removed, his usurpations would continue until the republican government itself would be destroyed and on its ruins a dictatorship established in the interest of the worst enemies of liberty and law.

But to remain cool and calm in those days of bitterness was more than could be expected of human nature.

One can scarcely realize now the intense feeling prevailing in Congress in those days. The great President had just been laid low by what was thought to be a conspiracy on the part of some of the southern leaders. Mr. ALLISON supported, as I did, the impeachment of Mr. Johnson. We were wrong. There was no conspiracy on the part of the South to assassinate Mr. Lincoln. And in later years I know Senator ALLISON often said it would have been one of the greatest mistakes in our history to have removed President Johnson.

Mr. President, I will be pardoned for dwelling on Senator ALLISON'S service in the House, because his really great career commenced when he entered this body in 1873. My excuse is that there are many here, in fact all of us, who knew him more or less intimately as a Senator, but there are so few, so very few, who remember him as a Member of the House, and it so

happens that I am the only Member of either House who served with Senator ALLISON in the Fortieth Congress and voted for the impeachment of President Johnson.

WILLIAM B. ALLISON'S career as a Senator is history. The history of our financial legislation since 1873 could not be written without there appearing on every page, as a dominating factor, the name of ALLISON.

When I entered this body in 1883 he was already a leader, the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, which position, I believe, he occupied longer than any other Senator in our history. Not only did he bear the great burden imposed upon him as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, but for many years he was one of the two leading members of the Committee on Finance, the Senator from Rhode Island being the other. All during his public service I never knew him to be wrong on public questions. He was always a safe man to follow.

As has been stated by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Teller], he was a member of the International Monetary Conference of 1892 and was desirous of settling the so-called "silver question" harmoniously between the two parties, if it could be settled, but, nevertheless, he was a firm believer in the gold standard. When others faltered, when even the late President McKinley doubted, he stood firm for the gold standard, and subsequent history has proved that his judgment was correct. I do not suppose anyone will now seriously question the service he rendered his country in saving it from free silver in 1877. He was a leading factor in the resumption of specie payment, in the framing of every tariff law from 1877 to and including the Dingley Act, in the establishment of the gold standard, thus carrying out the party's pledge of 1896. His senatorial record has been fully given by his colleague.

He was a wise man. He had an extraordinary control over members in settling troublesome questions and bringing about harmony in the Senate. He had wonderful influence not only with members of his own party, but with members of the opposition. Everyone had confidence in him. His statements were accepted without question.

He never attempted oratory, but by cool, logical argument he molded the opinions of legislators. He was one of those even-tempered, level-headed, sound, sensible men to whom we naturally turned when there were difficult questions to settle. We all had confidence in his judgment, and his integrity of purpose was never doubted.

By his wise conservatism as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations he saved the Government untold millions of dollars. At the same time he was not unreasonably economical. He realized the growth of the nation and its growing necessities, and appropriated accordingly.

Senator ALLISON was repeatedly offered Cabinet positions, probably more often than any other man in public life. Garfield and Harrison both urged him to accept the Secretaryship of the Treasury. Mr. McKinley desired that Senator ALLISON should become a member of his Cabinet, but he declined, as he had so often declined it before. The fact was, Mr. President, he preferred to remain in the Senate. He found the work here far more congenial to his tastes than the work of any other office.

I always doubted whether he cared very much even for the Presidency. On several occasions his friends had urged him for the nomination, and on one occasion, at least, it seemed almost certain that he would be the nominee.

His failure to secure the office of President never seemed to trouble him in the slightest particular. If he felt any disappointment, which I do not believe he did, he never showed it.

Mr. President, Senator ALLISON took a keen interest in all our national legislation, and there was not a great measure passed in the Senate during his term of service that did not receive his careful consideration, and, indeed, his genius for suggesting happy compromises was instrumental in securing the passage of important legislation entirely apart from finance or appropriations. It was Senator ALLISON who suggested to me in 1886 the necessity for the appointment of a special committee to investigate the question of the regulation of interstate carriers, which resulted in the passage of the original act to regulate commerce, and it so happened, as Senators well remember, it was Senator ALLISON who, during the last Congress, proposed the compromise which resulted in the passage of the Hepburn Act, perfecting the original act. I only give this as an illustration of his influence in shaping general legislation.

He was the trusted adviser of President after President—Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Harrison, McKinley, and Roosevelt all called upon him. I do not suppose there was another Senator who had to a greater extent their confidence. During the critical period preceding the Spanish-American war, and during the war, he was constantly advising with Mr. McKinley, and later President Roosevelt followed the wise example of his predecessor, and he would have been, had he lived, the confidant of the President-elect, Mr. Taft, who, since his death, has said that Mr. ALLISON was a warm friend of his father, and during his own public life he consulted him as a son would his father.

Senator ALLISON served longer in the Senate than any other man in all our history. He broke Benton's thirty-year record, thought extraordinary at the time. He broke the long record of the late Senator Morrill. Senator Morrill served twelve years in the House and thirty-one years and nine months in

the Senate, making a total continuous service in Congress of forty-three years and nine months. Senator ALLISON served eight years in the House and thirty-five years in the Senate, making a total of forty-three years and five months, but a few months shorter than Senator Morrill's total service in both Houses.

He was a member of the Ways and Means Committee when Senator Morrill was its chairman. He was a member of the Finance Committee when Senator Morrill was its chairman, and could have succeeded him.

They resembled each other not only in point of service and in the peculiar nature of their service, but also in their kindly, agreeable dispositions. But, unlike the veteran Senator from Vermont, whose old-time ideas of powers and duties of the Government made him hesitate to follow his party when it advanced upon what he regarded as new paths, the late senior Senator from Iowa was always fully abreast of the times and was willing to follow his party even though it might take what the more conservative would regard as an advanced position. Senator ALLISON took a leading part in framing the policies of the Republican party and, while not an offensive partisan, was always a strict party man. Even though he was conservative, he did not hesitate to follow his party to the full extent in the policy of expansion. Indeed, the only case within my recollection when he voted against the almost solid Republican majority in the Senate was on the ship-subsidy bill, when Senator ALLISON and Senator Spooner, followed by their two colleagues, very much to the surprise of every one, opposed the bill.

It has been said that the late Senator from Iowa was an embodiment of American legislative history for half a century. He was the colleague of many of the great men of the Republic—Sumner, Conkling, Morton, Trumbull, Thurman, Harrison,

McKinley. He entered public life with Garfield and Blaine and remained a stalwart worker in the forum of politics years after Garfield reached the goal of his highest ambition, only to fall by the hand of an assassin, and until long after James G. Blaine had retired to private life and passed away. These great and brilliant statesmen all passed to the beyond, while he still wore the toga of senatorial dignity when death's message came to him.

Along the course of his career from his early life, devoted to the practice of the law, to the call of the people of his district in Congress, and to the close of his public life, his was not the showy brilliancy of a Douglas, a Blaine, a Conkling, a McKinley, but the steady quiet life of the industrious, useful worker and successful legislator.

In the community in which he lived in the State of his adoption, which would have continued him in the service as long as he was willing to serve, in the House of Representatives, in the Senate, in every relation in life in which he was called upon to serve a part, everywhere and under all circumstances he was respected for his abilities and honored for his service.

He was laid to rest in—

> The sanctuary of the tomb, beneath the quiet of the stars, wrapt in the dreamless drapery of eternal peace—

Lamented by the whole nation as one of the ablest, the most practical, the most useful of American legislators and statesmen.

Address of Mr. Daniel, of Virginia

Mr. President: A guide, a counselor, and a leader—so to speak, a father in Israel—has left us in the vanished form of William B. Allison, to whom we had become so accustomed that his presence seems to abide. He was a great Senator, even as he was a good citizen and a noble American. He gave his first fruits and the best fruits of his life to his people and his country. He left no enemies here. We looked upon him with friendship, and everyone found in him a friend. He was born at Perry, Ohio, March 2, 1829. He died at his home in Dubuque, Iowa, on the 4th day of August, 1908, in the eightieth year of his age.

At that time the Monetary Commission of the United States were en route to Europe, and several hundred miles distant from New York the wireless telegraph brought them the gloomy and regretted news of Mr. Allison's death.

His career as a public servant had been very long and very laborious. It was of an inestimable value to his State and to his country. The plain recital of his faculties and performances would comprise the most fitting and enduring monument of his great career.

As for myself, I shall go but lightly into details, but they have been and will be better recited by others.

I served, however, with Mr. Allison as a colleague on both the Appropriations and Finance committees. He was a master on their business. I have had the opportunity of years to observe his course in the Senate, and I have an abiding sense of his commendable character and of his great and well-nigh unexampled service.

He possessed a strong, ripe, well-trained, and apprehensive mind. His form was comely and manly and his countenance handsome and engaging. His face was illumined by kindly eyes of brilliance and power. His appearance betokened the modest, dignified, and forceful gentleman, unobtrusive, but inspiring respect and repelling undue familiarity. A stranger might naturally assume from looking at him what he equally was—a statesman. Well ordered in all his sayings and doings, he might have made a mistaken impression on those who knew him not, that he had more placidity of temper than of fire in action.

The well-built and well-oiled engine makes the least noise, because of its well-fitted mechanism and the superiority of its workmanship, but it is the most precise and continuous in its operations. The fire that moves it scatters the fewest sparks and cinders if it be made of the best fuel. The sheen of marble and steel are not indications that it is soft and impressible. On the contrary, it is only the outward expression of strong fiber and power. It requires the most powerful instrumentality of art to hew the stone and to make and temper the steel that possess the finest polish. So in ALLISON the repression of contentious words and ways and the observance at all times of the amenities of life in all things were only the outward demonstration of the great heart, the good sense, and firm will that controlled him.

After his education at the Western Reserve College in Ohio, and after studying law and practicing his initial years in that State, he moved to Iowa in 1857, when a well-equipped young man 27 years of age.

When the civil war came on he served on the governor's staff, but was ere long translated to Congress, where he found the field that befitted his equipment and the bent of his genius.

For four terms he was a Representative; that is to say, in the Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, and Forty-first Congresses. He then was elected to the Senate for the term beginning March 4, 1873, and was five times reelected, the last time for the term which, were he living, would expire on the 3d of March next.

Thus it is indicated that for a period of over forty years Mr. ALLISON was identified with the most critical and yet the most achieving and progressive period of American history. There was no great measure of all that time in which he did not take an active part.

Several times his name was favorably commended for the Presidency of the United States. No man of his time was better qualified by information or devotion to duty, by dignity of character, or by the fine balance of mind and disposition to fill that great office in the spirit of the true American citizen.

True, he was a partisan. The nature of our people and of the institutions they have established has made partisanship the standing rule. We are all partisans. Marshall as well as Adams or Jefferson, Taney as well as Jackson, and Chase as well as Lincoln were all partisans; but when they gave decisions it was soon, if not instantly, recognized that they spoke the law as they found it, and nothing but the law. The transient assault on Taney, made in times of great commotion and perturbation, left him unscathed as soon as he was understood. The tribute not long since paid to him by Mr. Justice Brewer marks both the recipient and the bestower of praise as men uplifted above all pettiness and all condescension that would lower the standard of rightfulness and law. A true-hearted partisan, who has the balance of conscience and justice, may be trusted, whether upon the bench or in executive office or in legislative council.

WILLIAM B. ALLISON had such an equitable mind that he would have made a great chancellor had he been a judge, a great minister had he been called to the Cabinet, and in the executive chair none would have been surer to consider his country and all its people first—all other things second.

ALLISON was a man of peace and a great peacemaker. He instinctively observed the wise admonition of Allen G. Thurman to "keep a civil tongue in his mouth." He avoided the sharp and bitter angles of speech as well as of practical affairs in life. It was axiomatic with the ancients that the middle way is the safe way. It is the wise way, the way that least tires the traveler, and the way that least breaks axles and harness and wheels. The most experienced and best lawyers have always settled their cases, when they could, out of court, not in it. It was laughingly said of a certain statesman that he was so prone to compromise that if a claimant demanded both the Capitol and Library, he would compound by saying, "well, take the Library and leave us the Capitol." ALLISON was not that kind or any other kind of a weakling. When he stood for a principle to which he was devoted, he was as firm as a rock and believed that God Almighty hates a quitter.

Our Government is so vast and varied in its ramifications, its finances and its expenditures are upon so prodigious a scale, the increase of its population has been so unprecedented, its Representatives in Congress and its Senators and the details of their enormous work have been so multiplied, that conditions have forced comprehensive changes in its methods of administration. Government by committee has necessarily superseded in practical effect the government of earlier days, where debates were largely at will and any subject might be made one of prolonged discussion.

ALLISON was a great administrator. As chairman of the Appropriations Committee, and as a member of the Finance Com-

mittee, he constantly displayed his great utility, his capacity to work, his patience in hearing, in studying, in analyzing and clarifying details. His kind regard for all men and all questions were unsurpassed by any man I have ever known.

As a debater he wasted no time in his utterances, but was always ready and equal to any task that the contingencies of the floor of the Senate required. When he expounded a subject and advocated a theory he left little to be said by those who concurred and nothing to be assailed, save that side which marks the line of fixed political demarcation. Of a fixed and steadfast purpose, he was never frivolous or fickle; but always possessing the poise and the gentle arts of good nature, he pursued with an unbroken pace the things he aimed at with the serenity of the spirit undisturbed by diverting circumstances. Like the unclouded day, the rays of his intellect and of his information went forth to the world around him in temperate life-giving beams.

Moderation and patience were his masterful virtues. They are not the swiftest coursers in the chariot race, but they are the surest footed, the strongest, and the most dependable in the vast majority of the affairs of nations and of men. Neither the individual nor the social body can find verifiable progress without them. They wreck no trains; they cut down no trees to get at the fruit. They do not break banks nor burn candles at both ends; they join no "get-rich-quick" societies. They bury no armies in Russian snows, they bring on no revolutions, and they stir no schisms. They excite no hatred, but always allay it. They may not shine in the meteoric splendor that departs as it illumines, but they do the great and wholesome business of man's existence. They spread the ample board; they provide food and raiment; they store the fuel that makes summer by the hearthstone of the winter time. Like the sun

again, you may not see it move, but it is moving all the same, and when the day is done it has done its work of vitality and cheer over the wide landscape. These be virtues, the signal virtues, moderation and patience, which are most of all things to be commended and cultivated in a great republic, for the republic, of all forms of government, is the most quickly affected by the transient gusts of public opinion.

Mr. Bryce has said in his great work on our Commonwealth that "America is the country where everything turns out better than it ought to." We have broken all precedents in our marvelous career, but as land diminishes and population increases, as congested cities beckon the country boys and girls to their excitements and adventures, the infertile countrysides are the more and more deserted. Great problems of all sorts arise before us and spectral shapes give menace and admonition. In such a period more men of the temperate mind and balance of judgment, like ALLISON, are needed. While he adhered strictly to party, his influences within the lines of his party, and so spreading outward, were always exerted for conciliatory and for constructive and practical ends, and its own action was restrained from yielding to the temptations of popular and attractive things untested.

Our federative union is the greatest experimental station in affairs political that the world has ever seen or devised. It is because the State is a separate experimental station to itself, and may at will try any one of the great body of suggested ideas which are generated in the active minds of a progressive people. Sometimes the experiment in a State is wonderfully successful, and then the new idea is seized and considered and adopted by other States and becomes a fixed and shining light for the Nation. Sometimes the idea is disappointing, and then it soon passes away into rubbish. Whether we improve our

own splendid mechanism of government or not, America will remain in future what it has been in the past—the name of opportunity.

I have not spoken of political differences of opinion with Mr. ALLISON; it was needless. Without some such differences of opinion progress would stagnate and such reforms as are wise and just would become the death heads of lost opportunity. But in our differences we shall best make ourselves the soldiers of the common weal and best advance our country and all its people by adopting the moderate and patient philosophy for which ALLISON above all men was distinguished. Thus shall our country develop in wholesome peace. Thus will it ever be ready for the demands of righteous war, and thus may we fulfill the ideals of our fathers and meet the expectations of those who succeed us upon the stage of action. In such wise, and in such wise alone, can we best serve America that her fair form—

> Shall rise and shine,
> Make bright our days and light our dreams,
> Putting to shame with lips divine
> The falsehood of extremes.

Address of Mr. Gallinger, of New Hampshire

Mr. President: A short time ago, in the house of a friend in New York, I picked up a little book and opened it at this passage:

> It is hard—
>
> Said the doctor sadly—
>
> but life holds many hard things for all of us. Perhaps if we lived rightly, if our faith were stronger, death would not rend our hearts as it does. It is the common lot, the universal leveler, and soon or late it comes to us all. It remains to make our spiritual adjustment accord with the inevitable fact. * * * The discord and the broken string of the individual instrument do not affect the whole except as false notes, but I think that God, knowing all things, must discern the symphony, glorious with meaning, through the discordant fragments that we play.

Mr. President, at best life's journey is a short one, and it is well if, as the end approaches, we can look back over the way and know that we have not lived in vain—know that kind words have been spoken and generous deeds done, which have lightened the burdens that some weary soul has been carrying. Him of whom we speak to-day brightened many hearts by kindly words and generous deeds.

Others will speak more particularly of the remarkable career of our late associate, the Senator from Iowa, while I shall content myself with a few simple words of appreciation.

I served in this body with the late Senator from Iowa for seventeen years, being associated with him in the work of the Committee on Appropriations for a portion of that time, and hence had an opportunity to closely observe him in the arduous work that he performed. His service in the Senate was a long one, and it was as valuable and conspicuous as it was prolonged.

In all the history of the Government no Commonwealth has been represented by a Senator who did more for his State and the Nation than Senator ALLISON accomplished. His great experience and wide knowledge of governmental matters enabled him to practically direct the legislation of this body. Courteous, patient, sagacious, and patriotic, he guided legislation with consummate tact and ability and impressed himself upon his associates as a man who could not be spared from its membership. How well we all remember the occasions when a few sentences from his lips swept away heated controversies and settled important questions. His calm demeanor and guarded utterances, reenforced by his profound knowledge of legislative matters, left little room for successful disputation. He carried his points by the sheer weight of his wonderful intellectual equipment, gained by long service and close study of public affairs. Other men were more eloquent, but no man was more sincere, logical, and convincing. In a quiet way he swept sophistry aside, and blazed the path to wise and beneficent results. His loss to the Senate, as well as to his State and his country, can not be adequately put in words, and its full appreciation must be left to the contemplation of those who knew and loved him as we knew and loved him.

As a public man Senator ALLISON was sui generis. He had no rivals as a legislator. His management of the great appropriation bills excited the wonder and admiration of his colleagues, as also did his capacity for long-continued and arduous work. Probably this body will never see his like again, and of him we may well say, with a change in the name, as Byron said of Sheridan:

> Long shall we seek his likeness—long in vain,
> And turn to all of him which may remain,
> Sighing that Nature form'd but one such man,
> And broke the die—in molding ALLISON.

But notwithstanding we felt that we could not spare him, he is gone, and the place he so long honored in the Senate will know him no more. We will remember his virtues his kindly word, his cheery smile, his helpful advice, his gracious and sincere friendship—and, remembering all, it will be strange indeed if the memory of this great and good man does not influence our lives and elevate and ennoble our acts. For myself, I feel to-day as I felt when the news of his death reached me in a little country town in New Hampshire, that a personal loss had come to me—that a good friend and a wise counselor had gone out of my life. ALLISON is dead, and yet it must be that ALLISON lives

I can not say, and I will not say,
That he is dead. He is just away!
With a cheery smile and a wave of the hand
He has wandered into an unknown land,
And left us dreaming how very fair
It needs must be, since he lingers there.
And you—O! you, who the wildest yearn
For the old-time step and the glad return—
Think of him faring on, as dear
In the love there as the love of here;
* * * *
Mild and gentle, as he was brave,
When the sweetest love of his life he gave
To simple things; where the violets grew
Pure as the eyes they were likened to;
The touches of his hands have strayed
As reverently as his lips have prayed;
When the little brown thrush that harshly chirred
Was dear to him as the mocking bird;
And he pitied as much as a man in pain
A writhing honeybee wet with rain.
Think of him still as the same I say.
He is not dead—he is just—away.

Address of Mr. Lodge, of Massachusetts

Mr. President: Advancing years impose their penalties upon every man. In their silent action there is a terrible certainty and an unsparing equality of distribution, but among all their warnings, among all the milestones which they place to mark the passage of time, none is more mournful than the task of reading the letters and biographies of those whom we have known and loved, or the sad duty which compels us to utter in public our words of praise and affection for the friends, the companions, the long-trusted leaders who have gone. Yet all these trials must be faced as we look into the eyes of Fate or listen to its knocking at the door. All that we can do is to meet them seriously and solemnly, yet in the right spirit, without empty and helpless lamentations.

The death of Senator Allison has brought these familiar thoughts to my mind, old thoughts, indeed, but ever new, and recurring now with a painful frequency as I reflected what a long and affectionate friendship was ended, what a blank space was suddenly made in my daily life by his departure.

I recall with great vividness my first meeting with Senator Allison at dinner in 1874, at the house of Mr. Samuel Hooper, a distinguished Member of Congress representing one of the Boston districts. The party was a small one, consisting only of our host, his nephew, myself, Senator Conkling, and Senator Allison. I was a boy just out of college and Mr. Allison appeared to me a person of great age and dignity. As a matter of fact, he was only forty-five, which seems to me now quite young, and he had but just begun that career in the Senate

which was destined to prove so long and so memorable. Mr. Hooper's nephew, a classmate and lifelong friend of mine, and I sat by and listened to all that was said that evening with deep and silent interest. The talk was very good and well worth listening to. To those who remember the men it is needless to say that Mr. Conkling took the unquestioned lead in the conversation, and that when he criticised, as he frequently did, he spared no one.

Young men, without much thought of the pain or injustice which may be inflicted, enjoy sarcasm and satire and wit at the expense of others. Youth is not, as a rule, a tender-hearted period, and Mr. Conkling showed plenty of sport in discussing not only his enemies but those whom Cosimo dei Medici declared were more to be feared by every man—his friends. Mr. Allison himself did not escape. My remembrance of Mr. Conkling and of the character of his talk is very sharp and clear-cut, and that is all. My recollection of Senator Allison is equally distinct, but it brings with it a gentle memory of the kindness of a distinguished and much older man to a young fellow whom he never expected to see again, of a sense of humor as kindly as it was keen, of a good nature which took even Mr. Conkling's gibes with a quiet dignity and easy patience, very pleasant to witness and very pleasant still to recall. Perhaps it is not unprofitable, either, to remember these things, for I think that among the qualities manifested that evening, thirty-five years ago, a lesson in good manners, in self-restraint, and in personal dignity might be discovered without undue delving.

I have spoken of this little incident, quite unimportant except to myself, because the qualities which I then saw, as I thought, in Mr. Allison were really among his most conspicuous attributes. He did not wear his heart upon his sleeve, but his gentleness, his humor, his innate kindliness were as apparent

to the casual and humble stranger as to those who knew him best. He did not cover them with austerity, solemnity, or pomposity and reserve them only for the benefit of the leading actors upon the great stage where his life was passed, but he gave them freely to all the world, and made the world thereby, so far as his influence went, a happier place to live in.

After I came to Washington it was my good fortune to know Senator ALLISON better while I was still in the House, and for fifteen years I have seen him constantly and intimately every day of each session. The nearer view changed in no respect, although it enhanced, what my first brief glance of him had revealed. But years of a common service disclosed to me what I had only dimly perceived before, his qualities as a public man and as a statesman, for he was universally admitted to deserve the latter title long before the last hard condition which turns a successful politician into a statesman, as pointed out by Mr. Speaker Reed, had been fulfilled. It is of Mr. ALLISON in this capacity that I desire to speak to-day. Others here will trace the stages of his career and recount his services better than I. His life will be told by his biographers in the time to come with adequate materials and in the large historical proportions which it so well deserves. My purpose is a very modest one, merely to attempt to give my impression of Mr. ALLISON as a statesman and of the type of public man which he presented in his long, useful, and honorable service of more than forty years. That service was crowded with incessant work, for no more industrious, no more conscientious man ever lived. The hardest suffering of his last year was the sense that he could not do all the work which pertained to his high position as he had been wont to do it.

The great measures to which, as the years passed by, his name was attached would be an imposing list; and if we were

to add to this those in which he had a large, shaping, and even controlling part, it would fill pages of our Record. His monument as a lawmaker, a great function when properly fulfilled, is to be found in the statutes and the history of the United States during the last forty years. But his most valuable work, if we would look at it as a whole, as his personal contribution to the welfare of his fellow-beings, is not conspicuous in the printed pages of books of law or books of history, now that he is dead, any more than it was in the mouths of men while he was living. To value him rightly we must understand the Senate and its daily work. The brilliant oration, the violent diatribe, the coarse invective, the vulgar abuse are spread in large letters and in long columns before the public eye; and except in the case of a great speech, contributing to the settlement of a great question, they fade as quickly as the tints of the rainbow on the breaking wave and are rarely able to find in the days when the account is made up even the slight remembrance of a historian's footnote. No mistake is commoner than that which confuses notoriety with fame. Fame may be the last infirmity of noble minds, but it is built upon the rocks of deeds done, while notoriety is always fleeting and generally vulgar. Mr. ALLISON'S fame rests securely not only upon the great historic measures in which he had a leading share, but upon his steady work done here day by day, quietly, diligently, thoroughly, without the glare of headlines, for the most part unobserved and largely unappreciated by the American people, who profited so greatly by its results. The Senator from Maine [Mr. Hale] has a favorite phrase of description in regard to some of those who have served here or who serve here now. When he would praise highly, he says such a man is "a good Senator." This has nothing to do with character or disposition, or with virtue, public or private, but means that

a Senator does the work of the Senate well—the work of carrying on the Government, of advancing good measures and arresting bad ones, the obscure work, the essential work, in which there is much labor and little glory and which demands constant attendance and unflagging attention. Tried by this exacting test, who would hesitate to say that for many years Mr. ALLISON was our best Senator?

He was a party leader, a wise adviser and framer of policies, but he was also, and above all, one of the men who carry on the Government. They are not many at any time and they are absolutely essential at all times. In the midst of political strife, in the tumult which attends the rise and fall of parties, to use the English phrase, "The King's Government must be carried on." Whatever storm may rage, however bitter and loud may be the strife of contending factions, the public debts must be paid, national credit maintained, the army and navy kept on a proper footing, the mails must be delivered, and the revenue collected. No matter what happens, some one must be at work "ohne hast, ohne rast" to see that these things are done in due season. Macaulay has said that Attila did not conduct his campaigns on exchequer bills, but we do; and what is more important, we maintain the orderly movement of our Government in that way from day to day. It is a heavy burden and the country owes much to those who bear it. This was Mr. ALLISON'S task during more than the lifetime of a generation. Beyond anyone in our time, perhaps beyond anyone in our history, did he bear this great responsibility, and he never failed in his duty. For thirty-six years a member of the Committee on Appropriations, for twenty-five years its chairman, he became a sort of permanent chancellor of the exchequer. In the long list of eminent men who have filled that great office in England there is not one who has surpassed him in knowledge, in the

dexterity and skill with which he drafted laws and reconciled conflicting views, in financial ability or in the strength of capacity with which he gauged the sources of revenue and adjusted expenditures to income. No one ever applied to him the cheap title of "watchdog of the Treasury," whose glory comes merely from barking so as to split the ears of the groundlings and whose niggard and unenlightened resistance to every expenditure, no matter how meritorious, usually causes enormous and increased outlay in the end. Mr. ALLISON was too great as well as too experienced a man to think parsimony was statesmanship, and not to know that a wise liberality was as a rule the truest economy of the public money.

Very few persons, even here, realize what labor, what knowledge, what experience he brought to his work. We saw a great bill reported, we watched him handle it with a tact and skill which I have never seen equaled, we noted that he was familiar with every item and could answer every question, and we were satisfied with the result and did not pause to consider what it all meant. To achieve this result implied a minute knowledge of every branch of the Government and every detail of expenditure which had cost days and nights of labor and years of experience. Scrupulous honesty, of course, was his, but that would have gone but a short distance without the trained intelligence, the unswerving diligence, the disciplined mind which controlled the disposition of the millions upon millions that passed unscathed through his strong, clean hands. Moreover, he was always here. The standing joke about his caution and his avoidance of unqualified statement, which no one enjoyed more than he, grew out of certain temperamental attributes. But it is well to remember that, however guarded he was in speech, he never failed to vote, which is the real and final index of political courage and of constancy of opinion and conviction.

He may have put clauses of limitation into what he said, but he never shrank from, never evaded, a vote.

Presidents and cabinets, Speakers and House chairmen came and went, but he remained at his post until we regarded him in the field of finance and appropriation almost, as was said of Webster, like an institution of the country. Six times did the legislature of Iowa elect him to the Senate. Pride in the State, pride in him, and personal affection counted for much in their action; but I can not but think that they realized also their responsibility to the country which prized so highly the services of their Senator. It is the fashion, just now, to decry legislatures, but we shall wait long before we find any form of election which will represent as truly the real will, not only of the people of a State, but of the people of all the States, as did the legislature of Iowa during those thirty-six years. It will be a sorry day for Government and people alike when we lose that permanence and continuity, that directing and guiding force, which such careers and such service as Mr. ALLISON'S have given to the Senate. It is such careers as his which have made the Senate what it has been in our history, and if, under pretense of making it more popular, we are subjected to schemes which open the door wide to those who would commit fraud and to those who would spend money without stint, we shall not only see the popular will distorted, travestied, and defeated, but the country will be deprived of the long-continued services of such men as Mr. ALLISON, which have been and are of inestimable value to the United States.

Where, then, shall we rank him? To put him out of or above the class to which he rightfully belongs would not be the part of love and affection, but of vain eulogy, which perishes with the breath which utters it. He did not stand in the class with Lincoln, savior of the state, greatest, as an English historian

has said, of all the figures of the nineteenth century. He did not reach that lonely height. Nor was he one of the class of men like Bismarck and Cavour, builders of nations, relentless wielders of armies, masters of all the subtle arts of diplomacy. Mr. ALLISON belongs to that class of statesmen of which the history of the English-speaking race furnishes, happily, many examples. They are the men who carry on the Government and who have made possible the practical success of free representative institutions. Wise, farseeing, prudent, devoted to their country, and abounding in good sense, they command by their absolute honesty and capacity the entire confidence of senates and parliaments. Among the chief statesmen of this class Mr. ALLISON holds his high place. Such a verdict as this may at this moment sound cold, but it has one great merit, that of truth, and the more we consider it the more we shall understand what high praise it carries with it.

We Americans take great pride in our country, and no people has better cause for pride. In no country is patriotism more intense. We never hesitate to give expression to our love of country under all conditions, sometimes with a vehemence which tends to make others think that we doubt our own sincerity, and with a disregard of time and place which outsiders, at least, are prone to deem crude and tasteless. Yet, although it sounds like a paradox, we are at the same time curiously distrustful of ourselves and seem almost void of self-confidence in judging the work of Americans. We oscillate between the extremes of unintelligent praise, given merely because that which we praise is American, and trembling hesitation in awarding proper place to real achievement. The higher we rise in the scale of intelligence and education, the more timid we seem to become, and we look over our shoulders and criticize and even sneer at American performance because, apparently, we feel

that we may be laughed at by somebody or because we suspect that we are something apart from and beneath the standards of the civilized world. For no better reason than that we have at times praised foolishly and extravagantly we are shy of praising rightly and justly. We shrank away from Walt Whitman until men like Rossetti and Symonds and Stevenson and Swinburne had spoken, and then we only slowly acknowledged that the Long Island carpenter was a great poet and one who had become a real and original force in the splendid annals of English verse. As with the poet so with the painter and sculptor, the writer and the statesman. We yield easily to the provincial temptation to hail with exultation the heaven-born genius who generally never justifies his title, and we doubt and hesitate and pause in giving due place to the work of a lifetime, deepfounded on all that is best in our inheritance, slowly and painfully built up by talents steadily applied and by sacrifice of self to a noble purpose.

If Mr. ALLISON had done the work and held the place in England that he did and held here, his memoirs would appear in fit and stately volumes like those which recount the life of the late Lord Granville, whom Mr. ALLISON resembled in service and character, although the fields of their activity were different. Had he been a great English statesman, as he was a great American statesman, his statue would have its place here in the Capitol, the scene of his labors, as at Westminster we find the statues of English prime ministers and parliamentary leaders, many of whom Mr. ALLISON surpassed in all that goes to make a statesman. I trust that this may yet be done, but I greatly fear that we shall go on adding to the freaks in marble and to the effigies of the temporarily illustrious which now crowd against those of some of our really great men and only serve to disfigure one of the most beautiful rooms which

modern architecture has given to the world. I say all this of Mr. ALLISON, not in the beaten way of eulogy or tribute, but because I wished, by historical standards and, so far as possible, with the coolness of history, to vindicate the place of a man who was a great public servant, a statesman as eminent as he was modest, and to whom this country owes a large debt, not merely for his lifelong labors, but for the example he set to us all and the dignity he gave to the Government of the United States.

And yet, when everything has been said, strive as hard as we may to govern ourselves by the tests of history and to award to Mr. ALLISON the place which was rightfully his, and which all men should acknowledge, at the end it is the man of whom we think to-day and not the Senator. His death meant a personal loss to each of us. His abilities, his honesty, his unstinted devotion to the country, his fine character, his keen sense of humor, we do well to tell them over. He fully deserves it all. But what history or posterity can not feel or know is the one thing we feel most and know best. He inspired love and affection. He was beloved by all who knew him, and to us here his death leaves a blank which can not be filled. Great powers were his, but the greatest of all his attributes was that kind, warm heart, that goodness to others which cast a spell over everyone who came within his influence.

> His life was gentle, and the elements
> So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, "This was a man."

Address of Mr. Tillman, of South Carolina

Mr. President: I have had no opportunity or, indeed, desire to undertake to prepare any studied or labored tribute to our dead colleague. It was only yesterday afternoon that I was invited by one of the Iowa Senators to participate as a speaker on this occasion. I had intended to offer a few brief sentences of unstudied praise as a tribute to Senator Allison's memory anyway, and what I shall say will make up in sincerity what it lacks in polish or literary merit.

I have had the honor to be a member of this body for fourteen years, and during eight of those years I have been a member of the Committee on Appropriations. Of course previous to becoming a member of that committee I had observed the Senator from Iowa in his everyday work here, and had learned to love and admire him for his many noble qualities; but in the more intimate relationship of the committee work I grew familiar with the marvelous qualities of industry, patience, alertness, and capacity which so markedly characterized him, and I grew acquainted with other personal phases of his character which rarely or never were shown in the Senate. While he was gentle and patient always, and courteous as a habit, and, in fact, incapable of being otherwise than courteous and kindly, he had about him a humor, an appreciation of what we call a "joke," such as I have seen surpassed by few men.

Those who have associated with him privately will recall the gleam of the eye, the arching of the brow, the stoop of the head, while he looked at one, as it were, over something, with which he would speak a sentence replete with wit and humor, and, while not laughing at his own exhibition of it, would seem to question you as to whether or not you had caught it.

In our intercourse I had occasion, hundreds of times, to wonder at his memory. The readiness with which he would refer to laws passed almost when I was a boy was almost marvelous. He would call on his clerk to bring something or he would make reference to some statute long since passed, quoting it almost verbatim, illustrating the familiarity with our legislation which his long service and retentive memory enabled him to exhibit.

He was always more than kindly and punctiliously observant of the courtesies due to a man of the minority party. I have associated with chairmen of committees, on which I was one of the minority, who were very different in this regard, who seemed to feel that because their party was in power and they themselves in a majority on the committee it was not worth while to pay attention to or consider objections or suggestions from those who were in the minority.

It was never so with Mr. ALLISON. He would observe toward a minority member of the committee a greater courtesy and consideration than he frequently did to members of his own party. It was this uniform kindliness and desire to be friendly and obliging which made him so dear to every man in this Chamber, and I do not hesitate to speak it as my belief that he was as dear to the Democrats here as he was to the Republicans.

Mr. President, we have had in the last two years great losses in this body. The long catalogue of names, illustrious and otherwise, which the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Bacon] recited in his remarks, shows how rapidly the Senate changes. The Senator from Georgia and I came into the Senate together, and he mentioned the fact that there were only eleven men here of longer service than ourselves, and after the 4th of March there will be only nine, as two of those who are of longer service will no longer be with us after that date. Thus we see that in these fourteen years seventy-odd Senators have disappeared from our midst, many of them, a majority, I believe, into the grave, some

have retired voluntarily, while others in the vicissitudes of politics have been left at home by their people.

I want to call your memories for a brief while to four remarkable men who have died within the last eighteen months—Morgan, Pettus, ALLISON, Proctor—two from the North and two from the South land. They were all essentially types of the best that American civilization has produced. It is doubtful if there ever existed a greater contrast in some respects than between Senator ALLISON and Senator Proctor. One was as genial and as peaceful in his attributes as a June day; the other was like the granite mountains of his State—somewhat austere, quiet, undemonstrative, but as full of the milk of human kindness as any man I have met here, and withal possessing an inherent strength which commanded respect, while there was no effort at all on his part at anything like ostentation.

I recall my surprise—for it was very shortly after my entrance into this body—on hearing the speech which Senator Proctor made after his visit to Cuba on a personal inspection On his return to Washington he made a report as though he had been a military officer sent by the Government to go there and come back and tell us what the trouble there was about and to give his conclusions. There was nothing of bitterness in that recital and there was much of the judicial temperament, calm, clear, concise, and forceful, and the English was so choice that, knowing Senator Proctor as a man of affairs, a man who perhaps had not had as great advantages as others, I felt constrained to go and tell him that he ought to be elected professor of belles-lettres in some university, because very few of those who pretend to teach English could approach him in such a production as that.

I come now to two other great men whose deaths we lament, whom we all miss here. We all realize that the two Senators from Alabama had reached and crossed beyond the fourscore

mark, while the other two, Mr. ALLISON and Mr. Proctor, were very near it. They have all fallen like ripened heads of golden grain. Senator Morgan had impressed himself upon this body as a man of the profoundest attainments in knowledge of governmental affairs and history, and was, in fact, considered by all as a kind of walking encyclopedia upon whom one could call at any time for anything in connection with American history or jurisprudence or legislation and get the desired information.

The last of the four men, Mr. Pettus, was in some respects the most remarkable of the group, not in brilliancy of intellect, though his mind was as clear and pellucid as an icicle, but in a sturdiness, a strength, a vigor, and a frankness and simplicity that endeared him to all of us almost from the day of his entrance here; and my purpose in one sense in recalling these four figures to your memories for a brief while is to direct attention to the most beautiful compliment or deserving tribute that I have ever heard on this floor from one Senator to another, living or dead, and in this instance it was from a Senator to one who was not then dead, but has since, like himself, "crossed over the river."

It was in the debate on the increase of salaries bill, when Senator Pettus felt called on to speak of his colleague, who was then ill at home, and to remind the Senate of his long and arduous labor and of the immense amount of work he had done here in the quarter of a century during which he had served the South and the people of America. And after reciting the fact that he was a great lawyer, as we all know, and what his practice yielded him at the time when he ceased to be a practicing lawyer and came to the Senate as a public servant, he went on to state that it was almost certain had Morgan remained at the practice of the law he would have been a very wealthy man by that time. And then, reciting the fact from his personal knowl-

edge, because they both lived in the same town, Selma, that his property was worth just about what it was when he came here, with a fervor of voice which rang through my soul like a fire bell in the night, he said:

> The people of Alabama are proud of him because he did not acquire great wealth here, as some men have done.

That sentence ought to be graven on Morgan's tomb.

Watching Mr. ALLISON as I did, seeing the method which he followed in handling the appropriation bills involving hundreds of millions, the patience with which he investigated every item that was under consideration or if a new item was proposed by some one, and remembering that after all these years of handling those billions and billions of dollars, with opportunities to have had some of it stick to his hand, had he been venal, he died not rich, I wish to bear testimony, as far as my feeble voice can go, to the fact that if there were ever honest men in Congress WILLIAM B. ALLISON was one of them, and the people of Iowa should be proud that he did not die rich.

Mr. President, as I look around this chamber and remember the men with whom I have associated who are now dead and gone, and remember also that within the recent past I have been face to face with the dread Angel Azrael, have looked over the fence, as it were, and have seen people digging my own grave, I have had brought home to me with telling force the beauty of this little poem by Charles Lamb. There are only three or four stanzas. I have not taken the trouble to look it up. I read it forty years ago and I may not quote it with entire accuracy:

> Ghost like, I paced 'round the haunts of my childhood.
> Earth seemed a desert I was bound to traverse,
> Seeking to find the old familiar faces.
>
> * * * * *
>
> How some they have died, and some they have left me,
> And some are taken from me; all are departed;
> All, all are gone, the old familiar faces.

There are so many familiar faces that I can recall in my more or less brief service here that are gone that these thoughts come to me, and then I think, further, of that plaintive wail in The Lotus-Eaters, where Ulysses and his companions, who were searching for home, trying to find their way back to Greece, came to the island in the sea of which Homer speaks, and the words of Tennyson come up:

> Death is the end of life; ah, why
> Should life all labor be?
> Let us alone. Time driveth onward fast,
> And in a little while our lips are dumb.
> Let us alone. What is it that will last?
> All things are taken from us, and become
> Portions and parcels of the dreadful Past.
> Let us alone. What pleasure can we have
> To war with evil? Is there any peace
> In ever climbing up the climbing wave?
> All things have rest, and ripen toward the grave
> In silence; ripen, fall and cease:
> Give us long rest or death, dark death, or dreamful ease.

We all know, when we take the time to think, that death is inevitable, but we are happily constituted in being able to forget it and pursue our paths here and discharge our labors and duties as best we may.

All I can say in regard to the career of the dead Senator, who we here do honor to, is that none of us can hope to surpass him in length of service or in value of service to his country; and it ought to be the purpose and desire of each of us to emulate that great man's character, and as far as possible to imitate his virtues.

Address of Mr. Perkins, of California

Mr. President: When William B. Allison went over to the "great majority" the country lost a statesman of large experience, high character, and acknowledged ability, and the Senate a most useful and helpful member.

He recalls to all of us the eminent men of the past generations who made the Senate of the United States the greatest deliberative body in the world, and he will be entered on the roll of those who have most diligently and efficiently served the Republic.

A native son of the great West, he was educated at a college which, by its name, brings back to mind the time when Connecticut claimed as its own the region now embraced within the boundaries of the State of Ohio. In that State he studied and practiced law until the adventurous spirit which led to the settlement and development of the Western Reserve impelled him to join those who formed the advance civilization on the continent, and at 28 years of age he took up his residence in Iowa, in which State he very soon became prominent, and which he served in one capacity or another up to the time of his death.

Only four years intervened between the time when he became a citizen of Iowa and the outbreak of the civil war, and when that great struggle was impending he was a member of the staff of Iowa's governor and aided in organizing the volunteers who were to go to the front.

Two years later he was called to represent the State in Congress, and since 1863 he has been, with the exception of two years, a Member of one or the other branches of this great legislative body.

In 1873 he was chosen to succeed United States Senator James Harlan, and for thirty-five years he has represented the great State of Iowa in the Senate of the United States, exceeding by eight years the next longest term of service.

Forty-three years of his life were devoted to active work in national legislation, and from the very beginning that work was fruitful of good, and its benefits will extend far into the future.

The first term of service of Mr. ALLISON in the House of Representatives demonstrated in a most marked manner his peculiar qualifications to deal with the great financial questions which came before Congress, and he was appointed a member of the Ways and Means Committee and there served during those years when our finances were in a most critical condition.

The experience he there acquired and the work he did during his subsequent service in the House on that important committee gave him that profound and accurate knowledge which later made him the leading authority in Congress on questions of a financial character.

The refunding of the public debt, the remission of the most burdensome internal taxes, and the readjustment of the tariff were some of the vital problems which he assisted in solving, to the lasting benefit of the United States.

When he came to the Senate he was, in consequence of his large experience and wide knowledge of such public business, assigned to the Appropriations Committee, of which he became chairman in 1881, retaining that distinguished post up to the time of his death, with the exception of a few years during which the Democrats controlled the Senate.

He had hardly entered the Senate when he was called upon to participate in the most important legislative service since the civil war—that which brought about the resumption of specie payments in 1875, making our depreciated currency as good as

gold in all the markets of the world. For his work in the Senate caucus committee, which framed the resumption act, he was placed on the Finance Committee, of which he could have been chairman, but he preferred the chairmanship of the Appropriations Committee, in directing the labors of which he has been instrumental in effecting some of the most important legislation of his time.

It was also during his earlier years in the Senate that his influence was felt in a most marked manner in preserving to the United States the gold standard in the face of the violent and sustained attacks of the free-silver advocates. It was his amendment, preserving the gold standard while providing for a limited amount of silver coinage, which saved the battle for a sound basis for our national credit, and has been of inestimable benefit from that day to this. His action then and later was based on the conviction that the disuse of silver as a standard of value by the commercial nations of the world would bring ruin upon us should we adopt that metal as our own standard, unless all other nations with whom we traded should likewise change their monetary basis. That fundamental idea influenced him in all of his subsequent efforts to place beyond the possibility of successful attack that standard of values which is recognized in all the countries of the globe.

Great, also, were his services in connection with the framing of the McKinley tariff and the amendment of the Mills tariff bill, for his experience in the House had made him an acknowledged expert in solving these complex and difficult problems which tariff legislation gives rise to. The act reforming the internal-revenue laws of the United States was also prepared by him, as was the law giving to the District of Columbia its present form of government, which has worked so successfully since 1874.

Among the later instances of his genius for legislation may be pointed out the recent law increasing the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission. To that bill, as it came from the House, hundreds of amendments were proposed, which, if adopted, would have swamped the measure and defeated the object aimed at.

The danger was avoided by an agreement to adopt only the Allison amendments which accommodated the differences of all except the few holding the most radical ideas, and, as amended by him, in which amendments the administration concurred, the bill became a law. Such are some of the instances of Senator ALLISON'S genius for legislation, particularly legislation that contributes to the well-being of our country for long years after its enactment. As a constructive statesman he had no superior among his contemporaries.

The value to the United States of Senator ALLISON'S services is very great indeed, for his influence has been felt in shaping the most important legislation of the past forty-five years. To that influence is due in a great measure the fact that practically no mistakes have been made, and that we now stand on the firm foundation of those laws which he had a very conspicuous part in forming; and that these laws have proved to be the sure basis for our progress and prosperity is due to the fact that Senator ALLISON constantly strove to establish sound and correct principles of government, irrespective of policies, political affiliations, or political pressure.

He rose far above considerations which weigh heavily with men of narrow minds and more selfish character, and considered solely the good of the entire country and the well-being of its entire people. Such was the spirit in which Abraham Lincoln so administered the law that his name will forevermore be linked with that of Washington in the hearts of the American

people. It was this fine quality which has made the memory of William McKinley dear to every patriotic American.

That minute and sure distinction between statesmanship and mere political expediency which is the certain index of a mind raised far above the mud in which political self-seekers wallow was apparent in every act of WILLIAM B. ALLISON'S public life. His aim was not party advantage, but the good of the nation; not the success of political schemes to redound to his own advantage in power or prestige, but the peace and well-being of all the people; not to secure the applause of the unthinking crowd, but to attain that greatest reward for public service—the consciousness that he has been faithful to the Constitution and to the best interests of the Republic. All who knew him here recognized that such were the motives which actuated him in all he did, and it was this knowledge which compelled that respect and confidence which were felt for him as a leader; without such respect and confidence his great ability would not have served to raise him to the high position he attained. With the recognition of his absolute unselfishness, his leadership was gladly acknowledged and remained to the end unquestioned.

During these recent years which may be called the "era of villification," when there appear to have come to the surface in all ranks of life, from the very highest to the very lowest, individuals whose sole desire seems to be to attack men in public and private life who have achieved what is commonly called "success;" when accusations of dishonesty and falsehood are made recklessly and thrown broadcast to the world; when men in high station have been subjected to more searching examination and more unreasoning criticism than perhaps ever before in our history, Senator ALLISON stood high above the rushing stream of defamation and innuendo, no drops of whose dirty water soiled the spotless garments that he wore.

Every Member of this body has had reason to appreciate the fine character of Senator ALLISON and the high standard he placed before himself as that which should be lived up to by men in public life; and we can do no better than to make his character the standard for ourselves, and to strive to measure up as nearly to it as he did to the standard set for himself.

Those of us who, as I have, came into more intimate relations with him through membership on the same committees, have had the opportunity for learning at close range all of his great, ennobling, and endearing qualities. My association with him for more than twelve years on the Committee on Appropriations has given me a chance to know how ardent was his patriotism, how conscientious was his performance of public duty, how great was his patience in investigating every question which came before the committee, and how carefully were his judgments formed. His courtesy and deference to every Member of the Senate, the willingness to hear and consider objections to his proposals, the kindness and consideration with which he expressed differences of opinion, endeared him to each one of us and strengthened our regard for him and our confidence in his judgment.

The longer we knew him the surer we were of his absolute unselfishness, and from time to time some fact would become known that like lightning flash would reveal the height on which he stood above the wild turmoil of political ambitions. He time and again declined a Cabinet position, believing that he could render more effective service to his State and country in the Senate.

At one time, I am assured by a distinguished man who knows whereof he speaks, he could have received the nomination for the Presidency, which nomination would have been equivalent to an election, if he had been willing to make a concession which

in no way reflected on his honor, but which was simply not in consonance with his idea as to his public duty. Without hesitation he refused the great office, and that refusal was never regretted.

His ambition was to to serve his country according to his own high standard of duty. To make concessions for the sake of personal aggrandizement was to him failure in his life work, and he died, as he had lived, faithful to the people of the Republic, maintaining to the last its high ideals and traditions, leaving a name that will hereafter always be found in the list of the ablest, the most useful, and the most honored of its citizens.

Address of Mr. Nelson, of Minnesota

Mr. President: When Senator Allison died, on the 4th of last August, he closed a legislative career which began in 1863 and extended over a period of nearly forty-five years, a career the most notable and pregnant in all our legislative history. He entered the legislative arena during the great stress of the civil war, bore his share in the hard and sad task of reconstruction, bravely aided in refunding and liquidating our great debt, strenuously participated in restoring our currency to a specie basis and, ultimately, to a single monetary standard, and was most active in promoting our industrial and economic progress and development by judicious legislation. When he entered the public service the population of a divided country was a little over 30,000,000; when he left us forever the population of a reunited country was nearly three times as large, and during this period our territorial possessions had been augmented to the extent of more than 700,000 square miles, more than one-fourth of our entire territorial area.

Since the constitutional birth of our nation, those years of his public service were the most eventful and pregnant in all our history, calling for the highest degree of legislative wisdom and constructive statesmanship. The vitality and integrity of our country was on trial, in one form or another, all the time. The menace of secession was followed by the menace of repudiation in various forms, and that by the menace of concentrated, arrogant, and lawless capital.

The conservation of our system of government in its purity and in its original design is a continuing task, requiring well-equipped sentinels constantly on guard. And of these sentinels

Senator ALLISON was one of the most faithful and best equipped. As a legislator the greatest sphere of his usefulness was found in the committees dealing with our finances, our revenues, and our expenditures. On these great committees and in their work he was a leader and exercised a dominating influence. In the parliamentary governments of the Old World, like that of Great Britain, such legislative tasks are simpler and much easier. There the ministry prepare, formulate, and bring in their supply bills, and their budgets are all ready for consideration, requiring, in most instances, but a scanty revision and minor modification. Under our system such bills are formulated, amended, and modified by the members of our great committees, thus entailing a most painstaking and strenuous task on the legislators.

While the Senate does not originate such bills, yet its power of revision and amendment is unlimited; and we who have for some time been Members of this body know how carefully the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Finance scrutinize, review, and oftentimes largely and most beneficially amend such bills. This is a work of the highest and utmost importance, and one that enters into the most vital functions of our Government and concerns the prosperity and well-being of all our people. The adjustment of revenues and expenditures, enough of the one and not too much of the other, is a most delicate and far-reaching task; one that, in the very nature of the case, can not be subrogated to any other, and requires the highest degree of legislative skill. And in this great work Senator ALLISON was unexcelled. While his legislative vision and care extended to all parts of the great field, yet in this special work he stood without a peer. Careful and painstaking, scrupulous and fair, no item was too big or too small for his consideration. He was faithful to the uttermost, and frowned upon all needless and wasteful expenditure.

While he was not an orator in the common acceptation of the term, yet he was a clear and most forceful debater, carrying conviction to all within the reach of his voice. And he had that rare gift, which some great orators lack, of being always in earnest and sincere. He never spoke for the mere sake of speech, or for the purpose of appearing in the public limelight. There was no hungry look in his eyes for the press gallery and no yearning to drum up a crowd in the galleries. He rarely, if ever, gave notice of a speech. He was, in every respect, the antipode of those legislators who limit their task to the delivery of an oration or two during the session, and who seem oblivious to all else and hardly ever put in an appearance in their committees.

A legislative body composed of such members would, at the end of a session, no doubt be possessed of a large volume of orations, but a rather scant and imperfect volume of statutes. They are not, as a rule, the men who formulate and pass legislation. They are the mere bric-a-brac of the legislative chamber—ornamental and fine to behold, but of little practical use. It is the men of the other type—of which Senator ALLISON is the best and foremost example—who prepare, formulate, and pass the essential and requisite legislation of the country. Such men prepare bills, meet with the committees to carefully consider, revise, and correct the same, and attend to their passage when reported. Men of this type are the really useful men of a legislative body—the men who bring about results, and who are not the mere coiners of fine phrases.

A good legislator has a double duty entailed upon him. He must not only aim to promote the passage of good and wholesome bills, but it is also his duty to prevent the passage of bad and unwholesome legislation.

We all know from experience that there are, at times, measures pending that would be detrimental to the welfare of the

people, and in such cases we never ought to hesitate to put a veto upon them. Senator ALLISON, while he was always ready to promote the passage of wise, remedial legislation, never hesitated to oppose and defeat measures which he deemed unwise and unsafe. He was always alert, and no bill of any importance on the calendar ever escaped his notice and attention. The range of legislation is so vast and extensive that most legislators can do little more than study and acquaint themselves with measures coming from the committees of which they are members. As to other measures, they have to rely, to a great extent, for information and guidance, upon the members of the committees from whence such bills come. Senator ALLISON was an exception to this rule. He was not only thoroughly conversant with measures coming from the committees of which he was a member, but he seemed to be well acquainted with every bill on the calendar. He was always on legislative guard and picket duty. He was always ready to hail every pending bill and to ask: "Who goes there?" If the proper countersign was not given, the measure found no favor.

By most men he was, no doubt, classed as a conservative; but his conservatism was not of the kind that was hostile to necessary and true reform. It was rather of the kind that reformed what was crude and ripened what was unripe in the field of legislation. His conservatism was of the kind that toned erratic and visionary radicalism to a sane and practical level. Great reforms often appear, in the first instance, in a crude and indigestible embryo, but they furnish the inspiration to the calm, prudent, and wise statesman, from which he evolves, in practical and effective shape, a genuine and substantial measure of reform. The rabid radical may furnish the crude ore and the combustion, but the calm and wise statesman furnishes the flux that brings forth the true metal. Senator

ALLISON was a member and leader of this class of statesmen; and how valuable and intensely useful such men are.

Legislative bodies, like individuals, are sometimes intensely emotional and apt to be carried away from the true course by excessive feeling. Senator ALLISON was less given to the emotional and erratic than most men, and hence he was always the safest and best of leaders. He had the happy faculty of calmly listening to and weighing all arguments, pro and con, and then, with deliberation, reaching a conclusion that was, as a rule, sound and the only proper course to pursue. No safer or more vigilant master than he ever trod the bridge of the legislative craft. When he stood there the true course was always taken, and all rocks, shoals, and quicksands were avoided.

He was possessed of another rare quality accorded to but few. He could bring about results, in the face of contention and opposition, with less friction and less heartache than is given to most men. And this came from his equipoise, his patience, his calmness and serenity, and from his careful consideration of the feelings and impulses of his associates.

The army recruit, if he enters a raw battalion as crude and as little trained as himself, makes but slow progress in becoming a real soldier; but if he enters a battalion of trained and veteran officers and men, he speedily becomes a trained and reliable soldier, especially under the guidance and instruction of trained and experienced officers. What is true of the army recruit is true even to a greater degree of the legislative recruit. The legislative nestors, rather than the rules, train and make effective, by precept and example, the recruit who enters this Chamber. And when these legislative veterans are possessed of warm hearts, kindly natures, and helpful dispositions, as was Senator ALLISON in a high degree, what a blessing they prove to the new member. He encounters no chilly frost from such a

veteran, and under his auspices he partakes of the legislative sunshine, parts with the feeling of isolation which is apt, in the first instance, to possess him, and feels that he, too, is an important factor in the curriculum of legislation, and, as a consequence, he soon becomes a useful member.

Senator ALLISON was the best and most benignant of drill sergeants for the new member. I remember, with gratitude, the kindly manner in which he received me when I first entered the Senate and how helpful he was to me on many occasions; and it was all so natural and so unaffected—a very part of his nature and make-up. As he was to me, so he was to all new members. Like all great and good men, he was neither vain nor boastful, nor given to the pursuit of mere glory. He wrought from a sense of duty and with an eye singly to the welfare of our country and not from a sense of glory.

He was, quietly and without ostentation, brave, fearless, and energetic in the performance of his great duties. As a statesman, his grasp and vision was wise, comprehensive, and safe. As a legislator, he was unexcelled in mental and moral equipment, in strenuous and incessant activity, and in accomplishing lasting and beneficent results. His death has left a vacuum in this body that is hard to fill. His most lasting monument will be found in the annals of Congress. Of all the great men who have served in the Congress of the United States, he was by all odds the most useful. Others there may be who shine with a brighter though more flickering luster, but no one with a light so clear, so invigorating, so strength producing, so continuing as Senator ALLISON. He remains as a guiding beacon for legislators for all time to come.

Address of Mr. Kean, of New Jersey

Mr. President: Other Senators have portrayed the life and matchless services that Senator Allison performed during his long service in this body and in the other House; a service beginning March 4, 1863, in the administration of Lincoln, and extending to August 4, 1908. He passed through the eventful scenes of the civil war and those growing out of it, and was of unequaled service to his country. To him we owe many of the most valued acts of legislation that have been passed during his long term of public life, but I desire to say only a word to pay a tribute of friendship to his memory.

My personal acquaintance with Senator Allison covered a long period of years, for I had the pleasure of knowing him for many years before I came to the Senate, and the almost daily association with him here makes me feel his loss most grievously.

In looking back over the last few years I find it hard to miss so many valued friends distinguished in public life. Hanna, Sewell, Platt, Morgan, and many others; and now the senior Senator, to whom we all looked up with respect and admiration, has gone.

How often in the future we shall miss his genial personality, which made him welcome everywhere; his wise counsel; his calm judgment; his wonderfully keen intellectual grasp. The Senate in which he served so long and so well mourns him, too.

> Time goes, you say? Ah, no!
> Alas, time stays; we go.

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Address of Mr. Depew, of New York

Mr. President: We raise the curtain to-day upon the most momentous events in the history of the Republic. The life of our Nation can be broadly divided into three eras—its creation, its preservation, and its development. The two last are vividly recalled by the career of Senator William B. Allison. He entered Congress in 1862 and died a Senator in 1908. Never during recorded time has so much been done for liberty, humanity, and progress as is crowded into this period. The whole world is its debtor, but the United States is our retrospect at this hour.

We are here, in the assembly honored by his membership and the Hall which witnessed his activities, to pay tribute to the memory of one of the most influential statesmen of these wonderful years. He took his seat in the House of Representatives when the future seemed darkest. A solid South and divided North, disaster to the Union cause in the field and threatened intervention by Europe, our credit seriously impaired and widespread discontent, created a situation full of peril for the preservation of the Union. The continent trembled under the tread of armies greater in number than any before marshaled in modern times, and the shock of battles between brothers, each willing to die for his idea, had desolated every home in the land. Lincoln voiced the first and greatest necessity—to save the Union—in these memorable words:

> I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same

time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.

He stood like a rock against abolitionists and radicals who would have him try to free the slaves at a time when public sentiment would not have sustained him and the loss of Union supporters would have been fatal, but when all saw it was necessary to save the Union he issued the emancipation proclamation.

The success of the national cause in the civil war placed the Union upon firmer foundation, to be made secure for all time by the reconstruction of the States and the acceptance by those in rebellion of their equal enjoyment of American citizenship and unity in loyalty for the old flag. Our Government was then the least in power and consideration among nations. But it advanced by leaps and bounds until at the peace of Portsmouth between Russia and Japan, brought about by President Roosevelt, we took front rank and won the right and recognition of voice and vote in all matters affecting the welfare of the world.

People prosper and nations advance according to the wisdom of the policies and measures which govern them. The waste of war must be supplied by credit and money. The country required revenue bills to enlarge its income; the development of its resources to furnish the basis for increased taxation, and a currency system in harmony with great industrial nations. It was in these fields that Senator ALLISON did most wise, beneficent, and far-reaching work. Happily his State of Iowa, appreciating his value to the country, kept him continuously in the Senate. The record and rewards of his career were due to neither luck nor chance. He won and held place and increasing

power by ceaseless industry, rare judgment, tact, which amounted to genius, and the graces which command loyalty and love. In the House he was on the Committee on Ways and Means, and in the Senate for twenty-six years a member of the Committee on Finance, and for thirty years on the Committee on Appropriations, and for twenty-five years its chairman. In these positions he had always before him problems of revenue and expenditures of the Government, upon which rest its stability, credit, and prosperity. They appealed to him because of natural gifts for these questions, and by study and experience he acquired such mastery over them that he became an acknowledged authority and accepted leader.

He believed that industrial independence and internal development, increase in national wealth, and a higher standard of living for labor than ever known, could be had only by a protective tariff. He was the clearest and soundest of the many able men who have contributed to the legislation or literature of this question. The Morrill bill, enacted in 1861, had performed invaluable service in replenishing the Treasury during the war and stimulating production and manufactures after. But the marvelous growth of our industries in both volume and variety called for a new adaptation to present needs. While McKinley was the unrivaled expounder and advocate of the merits of the measure which bore his name, it was the ripe learning and constructive genius of ALLISON which framed and perfected the law. He pointed out the weakness which was afterwards developed in the Wilson bill, and his report warned Congress and the country of the disastrous results which followed its enactment. The universal recognition of his talents for initiative and upbuilding made him a member of the subcommittee which perfected the Dingley bill, which has been in force since 1897, and to him was assigned the charge of its

passage in the Senate. In this brief review is seen the master mind and skilled hand in legislation for the tariff during the thirty-five years it was on trial. He saw his policy at times crippled, and once nearly destroyed; but with faith which never wavered and courage which never faltered he plead with the people and labored with their representatives until the fruition of his opinions and experience had ripened into law. He lived to witness for ten years the most extraordinary progress and prosperity ever known in any land—the result, as he believed, of the triumph of his principles.

But the Senator's activities were in every branch of revenue legislation. He prepared in 1868 the internal-revenue law which with few modifications is still in force and with the least possible burden upon the people yields large returns to the Treasury.

Alexander Hamilton was the greatest of constructive statesmen. With little of precedent for guidance, he formed out of chaos a model system of constitutional government and devised the details for its administration. He was the father of protective principles, and his report on that subject has been the inspiration of all subsequent discussion and legislation. His methods and rules for the management of our customs remained unchanged for a century. Primitive conditions in the importation of foreign goods had grown and expanded until our commerce had so far outgrown the regulations which had controlled it for a hundred years that modifications adapted to modern situations were necessary. The work had been undertaken many times and failed, and was finally placed in the hands of Senator ALLISON. After two years of patient effort he succeeded in enacting a law wholly prepared by himself which, without change, has been the guide of our customs-revenue service from 1890 until to-day.

Senator ALLISON was a disciple of Hamilton. He revered his memory and was a profound student of his works. At a time when the people were wildly following the ignis fatuus of visionary finance, ALLISON kept his faith in sound economic principles. He early saw that material development and progress were temporary and delusive unless based upon a stable and unfluctuating standard of value. We came out of the civil war with our currency upon foundations as insecure as the earthquake soil of Messina, and feverish speculation followed by disastrous panics was our perpetual peril. A loyal sentiment that the irredeemable greenback had saved the Union nurtured faith in fiat money and the virtues of the paper mill in maintaining values. This and the silver heresy threatened political oblivion to all who opposed them. The Senator's fight for sound money illustrated the practical ability of his statesmanship. He could bow to the storm and not be bent. He saw no merit in so attempting to stem the tide as to be swept into outer darkness and lost to sight and memory. He preferred to go with and guide it—the most difficult of tasks. It required from 1865 to 1875 before the people could be educated to belief in a specie basis. That decade was as full of peril to our industries as the civil war had been to our nationality. The resumption act was the work of John Sherman, but his ablest and most efficient associate was Senator ALLISON.

That law made our depreciated currency as good as gold in theory, but not in fact. The enormous output of silver alarmed the mining industry because the supply was exceeding the demand. Besides the selfish interests of the mine owners, some of the best minds in the country became advocates of the free and unlimited coinage of silver. The farmer was persuaded it would double the price of his products and pay off his mortgages; the debtor that it would reduce the amount of his loans, the work-

man that it would double his wages, and by the mysterious alchemy of a government stamp, its purchasing power would not diminish with its falling price. Both Houses of Congress were captured by its fallacies and popularity. Popular passions had not run so high since the civil war. Wise and prudent men saw that the success of the scheme would drive out gold, put the country on a silver basis, and after a wild carnival end in bankruptcy. Senator ALLISON saved the situation by securing the assent of a majority for a limited coinage of silver, bought by and belonging to the Government. The working of this compromise demonstrated the folly of a double standard and brought the people to see that except the opinion of the world could be changed we must come to gold. In hastening that event our friend performed invaluable and lasting service. The successful legislator must adjust the bill he proposes or has in charge to the diverse views of his colleagues without impairing its essential object. He yields, harmonizes, and conciliates, but gets in the main what he wants at the time or gains a step for further advance when the majority are brought to his view.

Senator ALLISON was past master of that art. He knew the Senate. Its capricious moods were his opportunity. His patience was never exhausted, the serenity of his temper never ruffled. He could grant to an adversary an amendment with such grace and deference to superior judgment that the flattered enemy accepted a few suggestions from the master as a tribute to his talents. The post-mortem revealed his mistake.

As in the gold standard, so whenever a principle was involved, the Senator's mind was clear from the beginning; but it required, step by step, twenty years before the idea captured the country. The strongest criticism of his career was his willingness to compromise; but the Constitution of the United States was a compromise between the large and smaller States. The

Missouri Compromise of Henry Clay in 1820 was the salvation of the Union—secession then would have succeeded; but forty years devoted to instilling into youth love for the Nation and the flag, and the growth in population and resources of the free States, welded the Union beyond the possibility of disruption.

The country reunited in faith and loyalty, the industrial and financial systems which had commanded his unequaled talents for a third of a century triumphantly established and working out the beneficent results of prosperity, production, and happiness upon which he had based faith and prophecy, the old statesman might have been content.

Nations, like individuals, "pass this way but once." Golden opportunities at the milestones are lost or won. The triumphs of one generation make trouble for the next. Progress and development create new issues and statesmen confront fresh problems with every advance. Railroad mileage had increased with the growth of population and extension of settlements. These lines are the arteries of commerce and had been consolidated into great systems. Evils existed in some of them which angered the people against them all. Government ownership or government control were leading issues. The President and his advisers prepared a large scheme of government control. It was threatened, on the one hand, by conservative forces which fight all change in existing conditions, and radical reformers who would put on the measure drastic amendments so far-reaching and confiscatory as to involve years of litigation and invite an adverse decision from the Supreme Court. The veteran victor of a hundred legislative battlefields was called into counsel. The suggestions of Senator ALLISON perfected and passed the rate bill. It has stood the test of the courts. It has largely eliminated the evils of railway management, and the people and investors recognize its wisdom.

Senator ALLISON was never spectacular. He was modest and retiring to a degree. Many of his colleagues filled large space with their speeches in the Congressional Record, while his monument was in the statute books. Because of the radicalism of their proposals, or their eloquence in debate, or their manufacture of epigrams, others had headlines and columns in the press, while this tireless and unheralded architect of the public welfare was standing guard over the treasury or making laws which marked epochs in our history.

He rarely missed a vote. When the bell rang for a roll call, coming from his constant labor in the room of the Committee on Appropriations, he was among the first to enter the Senate. His name was next to the top of the list. He never waited to find out how the question was going, but answered promptly, and that answer often decided the fate of the measure. He had the courage of his convictions and not of a majority behind him.

He represented an agricultural State whose people often differed with him on economic and financial questions. But a singularly broad-minded and intelligent constituency recognized his honesty, character, and greatness, and loyally returned him again and again to the seat in which he shed such luster upon Iowa. His closing hours were passed in the supreme happiness that after thirty five years of continuous service in the Senate and after passing the limit of fourscore the people had commissioned him for another term.

If, as I believe, those who meet in the activities of this life are reunited hereafter, it was a wonderful band of immortals who greeted ALLISON. President Lincoln had consulted him on measures for raising money to carry on the war; Johnson on constitutional amendments, civil rights, and general amnesty; Grant on the reconstruction of the States, finance, and a government for the District of Columbia, still working satisfactorily

and wholly devised by ALLISON; Hayes on the resumption of specie payments; Arthur on the policy of a tariff commission, Harrison on the McKinley tariff legislation and closer relations between the republics of the Western Hemisphere by a Pan-American Congress; Cleveland on the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman silver law, and McKinley on tariff, currency, the gold standard, and grave questions arising out of the acquisition and government of Porto Rico and the Philippines, all of them era-making measures. Three of these Presidents had urgently invited him to join their Cabinets, and twice the Presidency had been almost within his grasp. When he first obtained the floor in Congress, he addressed Speaker Schuyler Colfax, and when he spoke last, forty-five years afterwards, Vice-President Fairbanks in the chair recognized the Senator from Iowa. Seward, Chase, and Stanton, John Sherman James G. Blaine, and Thaddeus Stevens were his associates and intimates. When the future historian writes the story of this remarkable period and portrays the actors in that great national drama who contributed to its distinction, he will place among the few in the front rank the name of WILLIAM B. ALLISON.

Address of Mr. Beveridge, of Indiana

Mr. President: Fullness of years, great work well done, wealth of honors, the respect of a Nation—all these were Senator Allison's when that kindly angel men call "Death" folded him in the arms of rest and bore him to the Father and to recompense.

Older friends have spoken of his labors for the Republic; I shall not go over that again. In the country's written laws and accomplished purposes his wisdom lives. Sound and farseeing counsel is as real a power as fleets afloat or armies in the field. It is more—it is the mind that guides all the material forces of the world. Sure judgment was the strength and worth of this great public man.

More than most, he knew the value of patience. Panting eagerness nor stolid "do-lessness" did not disturb his calm. He had forbearance alike for those who would drive the ship too fast for safety and for those who would put out the fires beneath her boilers. He knew that both were partly right and both were partly wrong; and he saw that from the conflict a steady force would come that, uniting the wisdom in both views, would bring the vessel safe to port. And so his was the statesmanship of the moderate, and therefore the statesmanship of the effective.

I never saw Senator Allison a single time that I did not think of those great words of Emerson:

> Teach me thy mood, O patient stars
> That climb each night the ancient sky,
> And leave on space no trace, no scars,
> No sign of age, no fear to die.

Sitting at the feet of this Gamaliel of the Senate one felt that from his earliest youth he had made these immortal lines his nightly prayer and that the responding heavens had answered it. For he was never irritated. He stood on heights from which he could see all opinions and behold the Supreme Intelligence fitting them together. It was this broad vision that made him so valuable as an agent of that Higher Power which in the end marshals all forces for the final general good of man.

With our narrower outlook and heated with zeal for our smaller views, many of us feel that unless these views, and these alone, prevail the country is lost; and this is well, for without the fire of faith in our own thought no headway is made. And yet, when all is done, we find what we thought to be different and hostile plans have, by some mysterious power, been woven together in harmonious design.

And so we come to know that hospitality to ideas is the largest wisdom. At our intellectual firesides an idea always should be welcome; a fact always should be an honored guest. No matter whence thought or knowledge come, no matter in what garb they are clothed, bid them enter and turn them not away, for we may be entertaining angels unawares. Crabbed prejudice is the enemy of progress and truth; kindly patience is the friend of both. And so the kindly and patient man is he whom both progress and truth befriend. And such was Senator ALLISON.

Tell me—

Said the ancient ruler to his wise men—

tell me one single thing that is true forever. Give me but one sentence that time will not prove false.

And the wise men answered:

And this, too, shall pass away.

At first it seems that this is so. Men go and are forgotten, no matter how great they are; governments decay, races perish—

all seem to pass away. But they do not pass, in very truth. The noblest thought in all this universe is that each man and woman, humble or high placed, pours his or her life into those supreme plans which live forever. And so, with the sure knowledge that whether our work be small or, like Senator ALLISON'S, be great, it still is more lasting than the stars. Let us go forward with humility that we can do so little, but with pride and thankfulness that we have been chosen to do our small part as servants of the Master Workman.

With such belief and wisdom our friend and leader finished his tasks, and at the end kindly patience and forbearing tolerance were his companions still. From earthly vision all of us are going, and quickly; we know not which one of us is soonest to be called.

"Spin, spin, Clotho spin! Lachesis, twist! and Atropos, sever"—only fate can tell who shall be next. But when we go, may each of us go as went Senator ALLISON, our work well done and manfully, leaving behind no hate; our finished lives like his, a blessing and an example; and having his faith that whatever befalls still—

God's in His heaven:
All's right with the world.

Address of Mr. Burkett, of Nebraska

Mr. President: In response to the invitation of Senator Dolliver, who has spoken so eloquently and feelingly, and in obedience to the promptings of my own heart, I wish to offer a few words in testimony of my appreciation of the life and character of Senator Allison. I can not add to the story of his life, for it has been told by those who have been in closer touch with it. I can not extol more fittingly his virtues and achievements than has been done by those who have sat side by side with him for many years in these chambers of legislation and who have borne with him the burdens, endured with him the criticism, and shared with him the approval of the great American people.

Ordinarily the disparity of our ages and the comparative briefness of our association in public life would dictate that I should respect his memory in silence while others spoke. But, Mr. President, there were ties that bound him to me in life, and those memories impel me to speak a word of love and appreciation now. I can not remember a time when his name was not familiar to me, nor a moment when his life was not an inspiration to me. The State that honored him so long was my birthplace, among the people that loved him so well are the friends and acquaintances of my youth, and in the soil of the Commonwealth where we buried him rest the remains of my loved ones that have gone beyond. And to-day, Mr. President, there are still in that State those near and dear to me who would have me speak for them, if not for myself, of half a century of association and affection almost filial. And, Mr. President, I may also very appropriately remind Senators that Senator Allison

was especially near and dear to many of the citizens of my own State. Nebraska has drawn from every State in the Union and from every country in the world to people her prairies, but owing to her proximity, as well as the similarity of physical conditions, Iowa has furnished an unusually large quota of our population. When the great army of pioneers from that State crossed the Missouri River they brought with them a pride in Senator ALLISON, whose career was just beginning, and which they have followed affectionately for forty years. His friendship is among the fond memories of many of them, and his life has been an inspiration to many more who were not fortunate in a personal acquaintance.

And as I have listened to these eulogies to-day, Mr. President, my mind has traveled back to the earlier days of my own life, for I have heard from the lips of his distinguished colleagues in this great Chamber here the same sweet story of his kindness and honorableness, of his patience and energy, of his high-mindedness and his devotion to duty, that I heard as a boy around the fireside of my old Iowa home. From Senator ALLISON'S life there are many lessons that we may learn; in fact, there seems no virtues as a public man and a good citizen that he did not possess. Patience, perseverance, devotion, courage, integrity—he had them all. Bombast, deceit, treachery, jealousy, haughtiness—he lacked them all. His power was love, not fear; faithfulness to duty, not sordid ambition. Some men have won the applause of their fellow-men by fear; some have won it by power; some have won it by rare ability and brilliancy of speech; but good old Senator ALLISON won it with love. His kindliness of heart and fraternal sympathy attracted him to all men. At home and abroad, in Iowa and in Washington, in the palace and in the cottage, forty years ago and until death called him home, people loved him.

Mr. President, those of us who attended his funeral learned, perhaps for the first time, that nearly all his dear ones had preceded him in death, and yet we remember also that his mourners were legion. From every part of his Commonwealth; aye, from the remotest portions of the Republic, there came men to pay the last sad tribute of love. Every State in the Union is indebted to Iowa for giving to the country WILLIAM B. ALLISON, and one of the bright spots in her escutcheon forever is his honor and his fame. He was honored by a State and he honored a Nation. His fame was broader than his State, his rank among men was higher than the position he held, and his honor was greater than the honor of his office. Not all men who have been honored have been honorable, for public life is honorable to such only as honor it, and the scroll of fame is for those only who can write their own names upon it. Public life makes some men famous and others infamous; some men noble and others base and ignoble. Holding public office is only an opportunity, and belongs to no man who does not feel its responsibility and who is not determined to measure up to its obligations.

It is a means and not an end; for while it affords opportunity, it carries no guarantee. It opens the way, but bears no bouquets; it offers a throne, but never lays a crown. True, it may not always have been so esthetically contemplated; it may have been given at times as a decoration or a prize for ignoble things; it may have been sought as the end, with little concern as to the means employed. Men may have been elected without qualification for its duties and without purpose of qualifying for them, but in the end the prize is cheap and valueless unless attended with honorable purpose, lofty ideals, and sacred devotion to duty. It is not unjust to any man to say that American history affords no career longer in time, more successful in achieve-

ment, higher in ideal, purer in motive, and more beloved in memory than that of Senator ALLISON. For more than forty years he bore the burdens of his country, and upon his name there is no blemish and upon his honor there is no shame. He dispensed the people's millions, and upon his reputation no "awkward aspersion hangs." Between the people's extravagance and the people's purse he stood, and during all the years that he directed the appropriations there was no deficit in the Public Treasury. He saw the ordinary expenditures of the Government grow from sixty millions to more than six hundred millions, but not a dollar of deficiency or of misappropriation reflects upon his judgment and integrity.

As I have contemplated the more than forty years of his magnificent public career, I have thought of the growth of the Republic in that time and of the obligation to the men of his generation. What years this last half century have been; what visions he saw and what dreams he realized; what enormous tasks have been accomplished and what stupendous problems have been solved. In those years we have extended out territory, multiplied our resources, trebled our population, quadrupled our railroad miles, multiplied our foreign commerce by six and our domestic commerce by ten. We have watered the prairies, drained the swamps, and harnessed the pent-up energy of the mountain. We have peopled the prairies with cities and congested the cities with the people's enterprises. Inventive genius has revolutionized industry and mechanical development has multiplied the people's power. From inconsequence internationally, we have become the political masters of the world; and contemporaneous with it all, we trace the evolution of social and commercial and political ideals unto the magnificent standard of to-day. The demand upon the genius and conscience of men has never been greater, in my opinion, than dur-

ing those prolific years that Senator ALLISON exerted his great influence upon the affairs of men.

It required cool heads and strong hearts, big minds and steady nerves to pilot our ship of state during this eventful half century. If men were more patriotic in the olden days of the Nation, it is only in the meaning that we give the word, if they were wiser it is only in our estimate of the relative importance of the problems they solved. I confess that to my mind the patriotism that establishes a flag is of no higher order than the patriotism that sustains it and enlarges it and multiplies its significance in the power and opportunity and possibility of the people that it stands for. Popular government is not preserved by any different patriotism than that which conceives it. To me it required no greater wisdom and genius to write a constitution than to develop a continent under it, assure its perpetuity and maintain its integrity of purpose and direct its successful operation. It was during the life of Senator ALLISON and to which he gave so much of his great intellect that we unburdened ourselves of traditions and prejudices and provincialisms that hobbled us in our earlier national life and became, in fact, the mighty nation that the founders of the Republic ordained that we should be. It was during those years that we threw off the yoke of colonialism, brushed aside the obstacles of jealousy and sectionalism, made facts of the ideals of the Constitution, and started out upon a conquest commercial, industrial, and political, unequaled in its achievement in all the ages that the world has stood. We adjudicated many of the conflicts of thought that formerly handicapped us and developed a system of practical jurisprudence for political and industrial purposes. Well may we pause in our triumphant march of national supremacy upon this sad occasion and reflect upon the course we have traveled and pay due homage to the generation

of men who piloted our craft in what has been the greatest half century of all the world's history. Mr. President, in my opinion in all the annals of history there is portrayed no people anywhere that equaled in valor and self-sacrifice and energy and perseverance, and lofty ideals and noble purposes, the men and the women of the last fifty years. Well may we pay a tribute to our fathers and gather inspiration if we can for the performance of our duty in the day of our responsibility.

I have thus spoken, Mr. President, prompted not by sentiment alone, although I confess the thought tends to make one sentimental; nor, indeed, Mr. President, have I spoken because of apprehension for the future. But we are so young and vigorous as a nation, so hopeful and buoyant as individuals, and so proud and victorious as a people that, like boys at play, we almost defy the laws of health and safety, and in our manhood we almost forget the guiding hand that was around us and about us directing our toddling steps, shielding us from danger, and perfecting us in the power and glory of our matured manhood. I shall not be understood as despairing of the future, for, in the appropriate words of another, "To despair of America would be to despair of humanity." I am optimistic upon the growing virtues and capacity of men, and believe that each generation is an improvement upon anything that has gone before it. That is the highest tribute to any generation, that it left the world and mankind better than it found them. But aside from that, I have such faith in an all-wise and all-sufficient Providence that has hitherto attended our course, that gave to us the constructive genius of Washington, the preserving genius of Lincoln, and the promotive genius of Senator ALLISON and his contemporaries, to believe that we shall not lack in men of power and conscience to perpetuate the ideals that have hitherto directed our achievements and shaped our destiny.

I presume Senator ALLISON had some faults, although it always seemed to me that they were less obtrusive and less complained of than those of any other man I ever knew. I presume he had his shortcomings, although they were not greatly apparent. I presume that during his long and eventful career he has felt the sting of ingratitude and the heartburnings of unjust criticism. Such is the penalty of public life, and such it will always be.

If such penalties were visited upon him, he bore them bravely and uncomplainingly, and in the grandeur of his stature of mind and heart he arose above them and the authors of them. He was too big to be mean to his enemies, too big to be impatient with his traducers, too big to denounce his calumniators, and too big to quarrel with them. He was forgiving when others were vengeful, unrelenting when others were dismayed, thoughtful when others were noisy, and tolerant when others were extreme. He never leaped without looking; he never condemned without reason nor acted without knowing. It was these qualities of mind and heart that retained for him the love and loyalty of his people at home and qualified him for the great achievements of his life work.

We may erect monuments to his memory, and we may extol his virtues, but, Mr. President, the impress of his memory and virtues will live long after our little monuments shall crumble and our poor words shall be forgotten. More enduring than anything that we can do is the monument of love that he builded for himself in the grateful hearts of the American people, and more lasting than what we shall here say is his own indelible inscription upon the institutions and laws of his country.

Address of Mr. Smith, of Michigan

Mr. President: As I have listened to the eloquent eulogies on the late Senator Allison, I have thought many times during the afternoon of the great value of such a personality to the world, and I have congratulated myself over and over again that it was my privilege to personally know this truly great man.

During the years of my public service I have heard much praise of dead colleagues, but never such a wealth of touching eulogy more appropriately bestowed than upon Iowa's noble son.

I have recalled to my mind the beautiful relationship existing between Senator Allison and all his colleagues. That kind, gentle, helpful, lovable nature went out to the younger Members of this body with unstinted generosity and marked effect, and I do not wonder that the older men here came to love him so dearly and have been so deeply moved by his departure.

But, Mr. President, I have also thought many times during this day of the consolation and the comfort that it must afford the brilliant young colleague of that great statesman to feel that during all the years of their association he was so loyal, so kind, so considerate, so sympathetic with every aspiration and desire of his aged colleague. True and loving to the end, under all conditions and at all times, in sickness and in health, comforting him in his last and lonely battle with the dread reaper, the junior Senator from Iowa [Mr. Dolliver] filled the final hours of his friend with a radiance and perfume difficult to describe, and the gentle ministrations which we witnessed here

will for many years to come constitute one of the priceless traditions of this Chamber.

Senator ALLISON's life was a struggle. Born in poverty, he fought his own way up the ladder to the topmost round, never forgetting the steps by which he climbed. His life gives the lie to the pretense of men that there are no longer opportunities in America for the humble and unpretentious. His brilliant example is an inspiration to us all. I hope the great body of the American people may draw from it the lessons which it richly affords, and that in the estimate of the people public men will be treated with kindlier consideration and more accurate judgment by reason of this noble and unselfish life, consecrated to the general weal.

Mr. President, I attended the funeral services of the late Senator at his home city. I witnessed with my own eyes the depth of feeling which was showered upon him. I saw the streets filled with those who loved him, standing in silent testimony to their deep affection, paying the last great tribute to his matchless life. I saw his body lowered to its last resting place and heard the lamentations of those he served. Upon that historic mound, which overlooks the valley and by which courses the Mississippi in its silent march to the sea, WILLIAM BOYD ALLISON sleeps the long sleep. I have wondered many times whether, in the alchemy of nature, there was to come again a man of similar mold.

It is said of Napoleon that after the battle of Toulon, weary and tired and unable longer to withstand the call for rest, he sat down upon the battlefield, and sitting fell asleep. The old guard of the Little Corporal formed a hollow square about him and watched with patient vigil until the rest came to his tired eyes. So in the State that ALLISON honored so highly, as time began to furrow his brow and rechisel his faultless features, as

his giant frame gave way under the weight of great responsibilities, the old guard of Iowa formed a hollow square about him and watched over him and protected his illustrious name with a wealth of manly affection and genuine enthusiasm which must have rendered his last days sweet and choice indeed.

All of us must grow old, the snow must fall upon our heads; it is so ordained; but must we falter and say—

> The night has come, it is no longer day.

The night has not yet come; we are not quite cut off from labor by the failing light.

> Chaucer, at Woodstock with the nightingales,
> At sixty wrote the Canterbury Tales;
> Goethe at Weimar, toiling to the last,
> Completed Faust when eighty years were past.
> These are indeed exceptions; but they show
> How far the gulf-stream of our youth may flow
> Into the arctic regions of our lives,
> Where little else than life itself survives.
> As the barometer foretells the storm
> While still the skies are clear, the weather warm,
> So something in us, as old age draws near,
> Betrays the pressure of the atmosphere.
> The nimble mercury, ere we are aware,
> Descends the elastic ladder of the air;
> The telltale blood in artery and vein
> Sinks from its higher levels in the brain;
> Whatever poet, orator, or sage
> May say of it, old age is still old age.
> It is the waning, not the crescent moon;
> The dusk of evening, not the blaze of noon.
> * * * *
> And as the evening twilight fades away
> The sky is filled with stars, invisible by day.

The life of this great statesman, simple, pure, modest, and unaffected, kindly, gentle, and just, is a benediction to us all. He has crossed the great river, made wider by our affections and deepened by our tears. The world is poorer for his going, and heaven has a new attraction for us all.

Address of Mr. Borah, of Idaho

Mr. President: Perhaps there is no greater distinction, no higher honor within the reach of men in these days than that which may be gathered in the faithful discharge of official duties. It seems to me that the man who takes office under a republic, modest as the emoluments must be, onerous and arduous as the duties are, and, with an eye single to the honor and glory of his State and his Government, works patiently on to the close of his earthly existence, is entitled in every sense to the commendation and love of his fellow-men. He has given to his country all—his time, his ability, the benefit of his watchful, untiring leadership, the uplifting and protecting influence of his patriotism. It must be said that when the end comes, the highest obligation which one owes to his country has in full been liquidated.

Senator Allison met in full measure this high standard of public duty. He came to the public service in early manhood. He gave to the public service not only the best, but all the years of his life—resting not even for the final journey, although understanding well that notice of the departure had been served. Here, bowed and worn and broken, he died, active, vigilant, and faithful to the very last. Holding to the end the gratitude and love of his great State, the admiration and confidence of the Nation, and the trust and veneration of his colleagues, he passed quietly from our midst as one well worn and weary with the work of the day retires for the slumbers of the night. The most welcome death to the veteran must be the death which finds the armor on.

Senator WILLIAM B. ALLISON was born March 2, 1829, two days prior to the first inauguration of Andrew Jackson as President of the United States. At the same time, out in the wilderness of the West, there was trudging alongside of his ox team, searching out a new home in his adopted State of Illinois, one who was in due course of time to become the most remarkable figure of the centuries, the dominating influence of whose indescribable genius was to change the current of history and and rearrange the forces of American civilization.

The historian, commenting upon the election of Andrew Jackson, tells us that it marked the dawn of a new era in American politics—the era of control of our politics by the masses in the true sense of the term. A strange heresy had existed among some of the leaders of prior days. It was extensively believed that only the highly educated and the property holders should have a voice in the Government. It has been said by one high in the councils of the Nation, "The people should have as little to do as may be about the Government." By another, "The people do not want virtue, but are the dupes of pretended patriots." And yet another, "It would be as unnatural to refer the choice of a proper character for Chief Magistrate to the people as it would be to refer the trial of colors to a blind man." Most of the States had provided a property qualification for voters.

The election of Jackson marked the first real uprising and victory of the forces which rejected those doctrines—the first signal triumph of those to whom reference was often made as the "uneducated" and "propertyless rabble." And, strange as it may seem, this conflict was to go on in different ways, by instrumentalities peculiar to the choosing of a power the secret of whose counsels we can not know, until the country boy, raised from amid the "uneducated" and "propertyless" masses to be

their Chief Magistrate and devoted friend, was upon the field of Gettysburg, with slavery in its last throes writhing at his feet, to announce the fulfillment of this dispensation in words that still live and will never die: "The government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Under the inspiration of these sublime teachings Senator ALLISON grew to manhood. In the midst of the culminating scenes which made these doctrines the universal principles of the Republic, he prepared to enter public life, and in the heroic days of their final embodiment into our great Charter he reached the full stature of American statesmanship. Thus prepared and equipped, when the Nation, reunited and her people wholly free, entered upon that period of her marvelous material growth; when deserts were to become empires of wealth and trackless plains be changed into great States; when the restless pioneer should unlock the imprisoned riches of the mountains, and railroads and telegraphs and telephones should compound us into one compact and indomitable industrial force, and all this bring up for solution the complex problems of modern legislation, he was to become a conspicuous and masterful figure. Cautious and conservative, wakeful and resourceful, an adept in the science of legislation, and a marvel in the adjusting of the differences of men, he was to become for years a leader in the greatest legislative body in the world. There was nothing here of moment during his long service concerning which men did not seek his counsel; there was no vexed problem, no profound question of policy but his experience and his wisdom, his patience and his patriotism could master.

There is a story in classic literature that a sculptor while patiently working with lingering anxiety upon an obscure portion of a statue was asked why he dwelt so long and with such

care upon that portion of the work which perhaps no human eye would ever behold. The inspired artist replied:

> This hidden finish excites most my zeal, for here the gods will look for the evidence of fidelity and genius upon which they will either deny or give to me immortality.

One of the older Senators said the other day we should hang upon these walls his picture painted by some great artist, and perhaps his beloved State may some time conclude to place for him a monument here in the Capitol; but his claim to immortality is to be found hidden away among the statutes, found here in the long story of the faithful, painstaking service, where without ostentation or acclaim he lingered with uncommon zeal to the hour when the last session closed at which he was permitted to attend. Here is his monument; he erected it himself, and no one will erect another half so lasting as the one which grew to such sublime proportions under his own hand and direction.

Mr. President, generously each generation remembers and recounts the achievements of the heroes of war. The mysterious power of the martial spell sometimes sleeps, but never dies. Yonder in the hall of fame the soldier and the statesman stand side by side, but the visitor lingers longest before the figures which call up the great battle scenes of the Republic. We do not complain that it is so; but can there be a finer fiber of manhood, a service to one's country calling for a keener sense of duty, a more robust and resolute courage, a higher order of patriotism than are revealed and exemplified in the great careers of civil life? The questions and problems dealt with involve the physical and moral well-being of countless thousands. The enemies of the Nation with whom they must contend do not march under foreign colors, but subtle, specious, and insatiable throng, in robes of citizenship, the corridors of

the Capitol. It is not a question of interposing skill and valor against an open enemy, but of standing guard in every hour against the power and influence of those who would gratify personal ambition to the disadvantage of the Government and the permanent loss of the common rights and privileges of the people. It involves the almost superhuman task of reconciling the conflicting demands of the great commercial interests that industry may have its just reward and every element of thrift and frugality their compensation. In the halls of legislation, more than any other place in the world, government fights its battles with selfishness and greed, with reckless expenditure, with special privileges, a conflict never over and never won, a conflict calling for poise of character, steadfastness of purpose, and a patriotism as loyal as ever displayed on the field of battle. A man who occupies a place of responsibility and command in such a conflict for thirty-five years and passes on without reproach and unscathed has earned glory enough for one man. His place in history is secure.

Address of Mr. Cummins, of Iowa

Mr. President: As I rise to say the last word upon this occasion, after listening to the beautiful tributes that have been inspired by affectionate hearts, illuminated by loving memories and vivified by eloquent lips, I am conscious of the despair which must always be felt when the hand attempts to gild the true gold or lay its crude colors upon the lovely shades of the lily. In the few moments at my command I shall not undertake to review the life of William B. Allison. That work has already been faithfully done, and I venture to view the subject from another standpoint.

Every day and every hour somewhere the flowers of affection are being laid upon the last resting places of those who have gone to their reward upon the other shore. Every day and every hour somewhere sad hearts are pouring out their stores of love upon the memories of those who have discharged nature's last and greatest debt. Notwithstanding, however, the universality of the ceremony through which we are now passing, I think it may be truthfully declared that this hour is unlike the hours which humanity ordinarily gives to the retrospect of an honorable, useful life. It does not often happen that in rendering a just tribute to the memory of one whose activities have forever ceased we are compelled to survey the history of a long and overwhelmingly important period in the history of our country's affairs. Generally it is appropriate upon such an occasion to do no more than to touch with loving tenderness the character and quality of the man. In this instance, however,

the whole scene changes, and there rises up before us, whether we will it so or not, forty-five years of a nation's life, years that have no parallels, no companions in all the annals of the earth.

Standing here and looking backward over these years I can see, it is true, the noble and commanding figure of the man whose work we are commemorating, clothed in the garb of his integrity of purpose, his openness of heart, and his amiability of temperament, but in the foreground I see more clearly still the procession of events covering nearly a half century of time; and in this march, the most wonderful which civilization has ever undergone, one man has kept step day after day and year after year, steadying the column here, closing the broken ranks there, and cheering and encouraging it everywhere.

To have merely lived in manhood from March 4, 1863, the day upon which WILLIAM B. ALLISON entered the Congress of the United States, to August 4, 1908, the day upon which he died, as a citizen of the United States was to enjoy an opportunity the like of which the world never gave to mortal man. To have borne a part, however obscure, in the drama of self-government throughout these years, as the Republic staggered under the blow of the civil war, as it felt its way through the perils of reconstruction, as it readjusted its financial policy, as it grappled with the problems which growth, prosperity, and wealth created, was to be distinguished above the men of any other time. To have been a prominent and conspicuous leader, to have been a safe and valued counselor, to have been strong and helpful in determining the fortunes of the Nation throughout these years in which we emerged from obscurity and securely occupied the highest station known in the history of mankind, was to attain the loftiest pinnacle of human honor, and this is the crown which a just and grateful people will bestow upon the memory of WILLIAM B. ALLISON.

Of his specific work in the House of Representatives for eight years, and of his greater work in the Senate for nearly thirty-six continuous years, I shall not speak. I must view his public service as a whole; and looking at it from that exalted standpoint, I do not hesitate to say that his name is deeply engraven upon the tablets of fame. I rarely venture upon an analysis of a claim for greatness, simply because greatness is incapable of analysis just as it is incapable of comparison. Without violating this rule, I may say, however, that safe and permanent progress in a country like ours requires varying types of men. It requires the quick, bold leader who does not reflect long, who reaches his conclusions with a rush, and who presses incessantly on because he is so sure that he is right that he knows that all persons who differ from him must be wrong. Such a man is oftentimes in error, sometimes intolerant, but without him the Republic could not live. There is another man equally important to the welfare of the people. It is the man who gathers up all these proposals for advance and for change, who reflects upon them with exceeding care and deliberation, who discovers their weaknesses and supplements their imperfections, who molds differences into harmonious action, who bridges the distance which separates those who insist upon the quickstep all the time from those who want to camp all the time; and such a man was Senator ALLISON. I do not attempt to rank these types. Suffice it to say that both being essential in the economy of the world, both extort our praise and admiration.

The Senate never had a member more deeply attached to his associates or more devoted to the work of his office than Mr. ALLISON. I remember one incident of this attachment and devotion which greatly impressed me. About the first of the year 1897 Mr. McKinley, the President-elect, commissioned me to bear an invitation to Senator ALLISON to become the Secretary

of State in the incoming administration, and he enjoined upon me strongly the necessity of suggesting to Senator ALLISON that it was his duty to aid the administration by accepting the place offered to him. In a long personal interview, I pressed this phase of the matter as I had been asked to do; and I shall never forget the reply I received. It was a tender expression of the affection he felt for his fellow-members in the Senate, of the friendships and intimacies that had grown up through a long course of years, of the faith and trust he had in them and they in him, of the impossibility of severing the bonds which time had knitted, and the ease and pleasure with which he performed the duties so familiar; and having summed up all these things, he looked me squarely in the eye and asked me this question: "Do you now think it is my duty to go from the Senate to a new field of activity?" and I unhesitatingly answered him, "No."

He was a gentle man in the truest sense of these words. He was a courteous man, not only to those of high degree, but of low degree as well. He was a modest man and vaunted himself not at all. He was a gracious, kindly man, and counted no labor too severe that promoted the welfare of his friends. He was a learned man, for he not only studied the history of his country, but the greater part of it he had helped to make. He was an honest man, and did the right as it was given to him to see the right. His body rests in an honored grave, and his memory is not only a benediction to the people of his State, but is treasured throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Mr. President, as a further evidence of respect, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to, and (at 4 o'clock and 58 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, February 8, 1909, at 12 o'clock m

PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE

MONDAY, *December 7, 1908.*

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Crockett, its reading clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. WILLIAM BOYD ALLISON, for more than thirty-five years a Senator from the State of Iowa.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator, the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. HEPBURN. Mr. Speaker, a message from the Senate has given official announcement of the death of WILLIAM B. ALLISON, late a Senator from the State of Iowa. In behalf of the delegation from that State, I offer the following resolution and ask its present consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow and sincere regret of the death of Hon. WILLIAM BOYD ALLISON, who served with distinction for eight years as a member of this body and continuously for more than thirty-five years as a Senator from the State of Iowa.

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Senate.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of our deceased colleague, Hon. WILLIAM BOYD ALLISON, the House do now adjourn.

The resolution was agreed to.

Accordingly, at 1 o'clock and 2 minutes p. m., the House adjourned until to-morrow at 12 o'clock noon.

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TUESDAY, *January 19, 1909.*

Mr. COUSINS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the following order.

The Clerk read as follows:

Order No. 17.

Ordered, That there be a session of the House at 2 p. m., Sunday, February 21, for the delivery of eulogies on the character, life, and public services of Hon. WILLIAM B. ALLISON, late a member of the United States Senate from the State of Iowa.

The order was agreed to.

MONDAY, *February 8, 1909.*

The committee informally rose; and Mr. Foster of Vermont having taken the chair as Speaker pro tempore, a message from the Senate, by Mr. Crockett, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is with deep regret and profound sorrow that the Senate has heard the announcement of the death of Hon. WILLIAM B. ALLISON, late a Senator from the State of Iowa.

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the business of the Senate be now suspended to enable his associates to pay fitting tribute to his high character and distinguished services.

Resolved, That the Secretary transmit to the family of the deceased a copy of these resolutions, with the action of the Senate thereon.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

SUNDAY, *February 21, 1909.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m., and was called to order by Mr. Smith of Iowa, as Speaker pro tempore.

The following prayer was offered by the Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D.:

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father; in whom we live and move and have our being; we would pour out the oblations of our hearts in gratitude and praise to Thee, the dispenser of

all good gifts, and hallow Thy name in a faithful and unselfish devotion to Thee and our fellow-men, and thus prove ourselves worthy of all the gifts Thou hast bestowed upon us. We thank Thee for that spirit down deep in the hearts of men which recognizes and appreciates the nobility of soul in their fellows, which displays itself in a faithful service to the public weal, for this special service to-day, sacred to the memory of men who have conspicuously served their country in the Congress of the United States, and passed on to their reward. Grant, oh most merciful Father, that their example may serve as beacon lights to guide us and those who shall come after us to high and noble living. Comfort the friends, colleagues, and families of the departed, and help them to look forward with bright anticipations to that larger life beyond the grave, where there shall be no more parting, and where God shall wipe all tears from all faces, and where peace and happiness shall reign forever. In Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa took the chair as Speaker pro tempore.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Clerk will read the special order.

The Clerk read as follows:

Ordered, That there be a session of the House at 2 p. m. Sunday, February 21, for the delivery of eulogies on the life, character, and public services of the Hon. WILLIAM B. ALLISON, late a Member of the United States Senate from the State of Iowa.

Mr. COUSINS. Mr. Speaker, I offer the resolutions which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

House resolution 58.

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. WILLIAM B. ALLISON, late a member of the United States Senate from the State of Iowa, which occurred at his home in the city of Dubuque, August 4, 1908.

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given to pay tribute to his memory.

Resolved, That as a particular mark of respect to the deceased and in recognition of his distinguished public service the House, at the conclusion of the memorial exercises of the day, shall stand adjourned.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate.

Resolved, That the Clerk send a copy of these resolutions to the family of the deceased.

The resolutions were agreed to.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

ADDRESS OF MR. COUSINS, OF IOWA

Mr. SPEAKER: Our custom of memorializing Members of Congress who die while in the public service has been commented upon extensively. Differing opinions are entertained in Congress itself, and more widely differing views throughout the country; but as for the observances of this particular hour, no question will be raised, either in or out of Congress, as to the propriety, the fitness, or the willingness of all our countrymen, and, indeed, of other countries, to set apart a portion of this day for opportunity to pay tribute to a statesman who served his country in the United States Senate for a longer period of time than any other man in all our history—WILLIAM B. ALLISON. That fact is prima facie evidence that he deserved the preferment bestowed upon him.

His Creator saved him and prolonged his life for nearly a full decade beyond the mark of three score years and ten—from March 2, 1829, to August 4, 1908—and all mankind, especially his countrymen, are wishing to-day that he could have been spared longer for continuance of his unprecedented usefulness.

Long before I ever held or dreamed of office, he was the first of the really strong men in public life whom I had opportunity of knowing, and he was the most unselfish and genuine friend I ever knew intimately in eminent and exalted station. He was like a father to all young men of his adopted State, and he never lost the loyalty of any one of them who knew him and who had any sense of gratitude.

Coming from Ohio, he fitted well into the hard-working, serious, and patriotic citizenship of Iowa.

Senator ALLISON, like most of us, had to work, and he always had sympathy for those of the younger generation who he knew were born to toil. He never ran ahead of the column. He stood shoulder to shoulder with his colleagues. He did not seek distinguishment, but deserved it always when it was bestowed upon him.

Thus he came into the confidence of all men—by modesty and honesty and industry and tolerance, and by such solicitous and faithful interest in the public welfare that all men the country over finally came to trust him and respect him.

First, a Representative in Congress for eight years; then, after one defeat, our Senator; then came the longest and most useful career in all our history—nearly thirty-six years in the Senate. Early in his senatorial career his ability was most fitly exercised in a sensible and practicable system of government for the District of Columbia, and then in an internal-revenue system that has survived throughout many years of trial with few improvements. Then at last he came to that great and large responsibility and usefulness of shaping tariffs and of appropriating necessary and stupendous sums of money for our foreign and domestic needs and obligations. And in that great capacity and practice he acquired a knowledge and familiarity that surpassed all others in our history.

With a memory that was marvelous, with industry the equivalent of our fathers', and with a mind intent upon equity and justice, he became the trusted counselor in fiscal affairs and in matters of appropriations, so that he was relied upon as the prudential adviser on the most intricate and difficult subjects of our Government.

The late Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, writing his autobiography in 1903, six years before the death of Senator ALLISON,

whom he knew well and personally for more than forty years, recorded this significant and deliberate estimate:

> His chief distinction has been gained by a service of thirty years in the Senate. He was out of public life two years, and then was elected to the Senate, where he has been kept by the State of Iowa, maintaining the confidence of his State and of his associates in public life During all that time he has done what no other man in the country, in my judgment, could have done so well. He has been a member of the great Committee on Appropriations for thirty years, most of the time chairman, and for twenty-six years a member of the Committee on Finance. He has controlled, more than any other man, indeed more than any other ten men, the vast and constantly increasing public expenditure, amounting now to more than one thousand millions annually. It has been an economical, honest, and wise expenditure. He has been compelled, in the discharge of his duties, to understand the complications and mechanism of public administration and public expenditure. That is a knowledge in which nobody else in the Senate, except Senator Hale of Maine and Senator Cockrell of Missouri, can compare with him. He has by his wise and moderate counsel drawn the fire from many a wild and dangerous scheme which menaced the public peace and safety.

On the day when this great friend of all of us departed it happened I was traveling in a foreign land. A clergyman of that country, reading from a paper, said aloud, "Another good man gone, ALLISON of Iowa." Observing my concern, although a stranger, he passed to me the paper containing the dispatch that chronicled the sad and sudden information. It was impossible for me to reach our State in time to lay a flower upon the most distinguished and respected grave which the city of Dubuque has ever known, and I am content that I never saw the face of Senator ALLISON after his serene and amiable spirit had departed.

There never was in all our world a kindlier countenance than his when animated with the glow of life and health and with that peculiar cast of gentle and serene nobility. His intelligent and lofty spirit shone always in his faultless face, and his hand was always warm with a fatherly and genial grasp.

It was my great good fortune to travel with him in many countries of the world and likewise here at home. Even when

nearly 80 years of age he was a most interesting companion, better than most of the young men of our day, because his memory was stored with rich and vivid reminiscences of early days and of public life and characters. The proprieties of this occasion do not offer opportunity for details of his conversations, but the memory of them shall never be obliterated.

His life, as indicated by his countenance, was noble and serene, even to the very last of his useful and unselfish service; and save for one or two unspeakable political attacks which emanated from a debauchery of our modern journalism, his great and generous heart was never hurt by hostile comment.

The fertile and appreciative State of his adoption registered most emphatically, not long before his dying hour, pronounced approval of his life and noble services.

After more than forty years of powerful and devoted service to the Nation, thrice bidden to the Cabinet, once almost nominated for the Presidency, he stood at last a master in the consideration of the details of free government amongst a great constituency and amongst his colleagues in the Congress, as a mighty oak tree stands in the midst of a forest, bending at times and bowing with lofty and respectful salutations and with stately and dignified humility, which always and forever in our world betokens wisdom.

We scarcely dare inquire of history what shall finally be the destiny of the republics of our world; but with such lives and characters as the wise and patient one whom we memorialize to-day, the generations of the future centuries may look backward with all confidence upon an example of intellectual industry and honesty, and then look forward with an inspiration that should lift them to a greater and a nobler destiny and maybe to an approximately perfect day when intelligent and modest righteousness may govern in our world.

Address of Mr. Hepburn, of Iowa

Mr. Speaker: My personal acquaintance with Senator Allison covered a period of more than fifty years. I met him very shortly after his removal to the State of Iowa, in the city of Des Moines, during the first session of the general assembly ever held in that city. With him I assisted in casting the vote of Iowa in the Republican National Convention of 1860 that nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency. During a long portion of these fifty years of which I have spoken I knew the late Senator intimately, and I have often thought that he was most fortunate in the period of the world's history in which his great services were rendered. He was fitted for service in that period by his early life and early associations. He was born and reared and educated in the Western Reserve. Gentlemen who are familiar with the history of that portion of our country know that in that region flourished as in no other portion of the United States, fifty or more years ago, that love of liberty, that discussion of liberty, of equality of men, of their rights under the Constitution and under the broader constitution of God's law, developed later in the terrific strife and in the adjustment of the questions settled later, calling for the exercise of the highest possible genius.

Senator Allison's first political thought came at a time when men were discussing the wisdom of the legislation known to be embodied in what was then called the "Kansas-Nebraska bill," the discussion that brought bloodshed, chaos, and anarchy into one of the territories that challenged the attention of the world, that led to civil strife and to all of the sanguinary

scenes on the battlefields in this country between 1861 and 1865. He did much in the organization of armies, or at least the operation of the great armies that participated in that struggle. He served as a special aide to the governor of Iowa in the raising of troops during the period when 45,000 men were put into the field—40 per cent of the entire military force in that State.

One can readily see that in this sudden transition from the days of peace to the days of war, calling for such great musterings of men, great effort was required.

Senator ALLISON, after the raising of this vast force, took his seat in this House and served continuously for eight years. During that period every question that was involved in the legislation that led to that outbreak of war, to the conduct of that war and to that pacification of the country that resulted from reconstruction of the States after the war occurred, and all were familiar to him, just as was all of that legislation that involved the building up of the resources of the country, prostrated as it was by the expenditure of so many billions of money, and the loss of so much of the vital and wealth-creating forces as this country suffered during the four years.

Senator ALLISON was familiar with all of that earlier legislation. He was familiar with all the efforts resulting in constitutional amendments. He was familiar with all of that legislation that gave us the sinews of war to successfully stand the expenditures of three and one half million dollars in a day. He did much toward that pacification of which I have spoken—that reconstruction of States. It gave to him a wonderful advantage, first, because most of the themes that were discussed were emotional themes in a great degree; the theme of liberty, of equality, of the rights of men under the Constitution and the laws of nature. The necessity of preserving the Federal Union, the certainty of destruction to the individual States should

their bond of union be severed, all of these questions, familiar to him, enforced upon him by study, by observation, by feeling, by conscience, enabled him to know and not merely to assume or guess.

There is an idea among men that Senator ALLISON was a man who lacked positiveness, and many anecdotes are told of him, often mere matters of fancy, that would indicate his lack of positiveness. And yet I undertake to say that among all of the distinguished characters that this country has produced, with regards to matters of importance, matters that he had thoroughly weighed, where he had arrived at a conclusion, there was no man more positive than he was. His convictions were to him a certainty about which he had no difficulty or hesitation in giving expression. A cautious man, not giving a hasty conclusion, he waited until the arrival of that condition of thought that was the result of study; and when it came, the conviction was one that he did not hesitate to express.

I think that probably the times in which he lived gave him this power. He was aided in it, too, by the certainties that he had in his mind. The man who lives in public life after this and who desires to know of the stirring events that were in the life of Senator ALLISON must go to the records; research alone can enable him to secure that fund of information that will be the basis upon which conclusions must be built. Not so with the Senator. All these great questions were part of his life; all of these great questions were happenings of his daily occupation. He simply had to indulge in introspection, and stored away in the pigeonholes of his memory were all of these great facts that made him so useful in his day and generation.

It is not claimed by the friends of Senator ALLISON that he was a brilliant genius. But those who knew him best know no man of all his contemporaries was more useful to his country

than was the late Senator. He was a man who did not beget love, but who did invariably inspire respect and confidence. The best proof of that is to be found in the almost reverential manner in which his colleagues regarded him. Reference has been made to his unselfishness.

He was always willing that every one of his colleagues should have his full share of whatever there was that he thought might be beneficial to him. He was always ready to cooperate with his colleagues in seeing to it that their rights were observed, and that was one of the secrets of his strength; that was one of the reasons why the people of Iowa were content—aye, more than content; glad—seven times to express their preference that he should be their representative in the Senate of the United States. He never had controversies with his colleagues. He always had the support of them all. Can you think, gentlemen, of any time in all of the history of our State and its political contentions when those gentlemen that served in the Congress of the United States with him were not ready to testify to his worth and ready to assert their content that he should still be the head of the column?

Mr. Speaker, he was a great character; great in his life, useful in his life, and useful in his death; because his life and character will be an inspiration to many and many a youth, teaching him that the door of opportunity here is wide open to all who have the courage and the energy to serve and to achieve.

Address of Mr. Clark, of Missouri

Mr. Speaker: Missouri and Iowa are two of the greatest States carved from the Louisiana Purchase. They lie side by side and are bound closely together by ties of interest and of blood. Iowa's first two United States Senators were Missourians—Col. George W. Jones and Gen. Augustus Cæsar Dodge. Both were from Ste. Genevieve, Mo., in which town, when it contained not over 1,000 inhabitants, lived simultaneously six men and boys destined for the high distinction of serving in the Senate of the United States. The most renowned of the six was Col. Thomas Hart Benton. When Senators Jones and Dodge arrived in Washington to take the oath of office, they discovered, to their dismay, that they had lost their credentials. Colonel Benton, the dean of the trans-Mississippi delegation in Congress, who had known them in their youth, smoothed their way by moving that they be admitted without credentials, and it was so ordered.

Though a majority of Missourians are, and always have been, of different political faith from Senator William Boyd Allison, we have always agreed with Iowans in pride in his blameless life, his high character, his fine ability, and his conspicuous career. He was Missouri's neighbor and her friend.

A well-informed Missourian can not think of Gen. Francis Marion Cockrell without also thinking of Senator William Boyd Allison, and a well-informed Iowan can not think of Senator Allison without also thinking of General Cockrell, because these two eminent men for more than a quarter century were bosom friends and alternated in the powerful position of chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

Senator ALLISON served longer in Congress than any other man in the one hundred and twenty years under the Constitution, a total of forty-three and one-half years, eight in the House and thirty-five and one-half in the Senate, thus leading Senator Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont, by a few months. Senator Morrill served ten years in the House and a little over thirty-two years in the Senate. They and Gen. John T. Morgan, of Alabama, are the only men ever elected for six full consecutive terms to the Federal Senate. Death alone prevented Senator ALLISON'S election for a seventh full term, as he had been nominated for that unprecedented honor.

Colonel Benton was the first Senator to serve five full terms. He was for a long time popularly known as "The thirty years' Senator," and when he wrote his invaluable book he entitled it "A Thirty Years' View." His record was never equaled till March 4, 1897, when Senator Morrill began his sixth consecutive term in the House of the Conscript Fathers. Only Senators WILLIAM BOYD ALLISON, Justin S. Morrill, John P. Jones, Francis Marion Cockrell, and John Tyler Morgan have equaled Benton's record for consecutive Senatorial service. In addition to these, only John Sherman and William M. Stewart have equaled Benton's length of Senatorial service. Missouri is the only State that has given two men thirty years of senatorial service each. Benton was defeated for a sixth term because he quarreled with his party, and Cockrell was defeated for his sixth term because the political complexion of the Missouri legislature was accidentally changed.

In passing, it is both apropos and interesting to state that only three men have served more than thirty years in the House: Judge William S. Holman, of Indiana, General Ketcham, of New York, and Mr. Speaker Cannon. On the 4th of March General Bingham, of Pennsylvania, will enter upon his thirty-first year of service in the House.

The chances are that it will be one hundred and twenty years before another man equals Senator ALLISON's length of service in Congress. In order for his career in that regard to be duplicated, there must be a man worthy of the place and more popular with his party than any other man in his State, and it must also happen that his party holds the legislature continuously—at least control it every time his successor is to be elected. It is rare that one party controls the legislature of a State continuously for thirty years. Indeed, at one of his reelections Senator ALLISON won by only one vote. In Great Britain several men have served longer in the House of Commons than Senator ALLISON has served in Congress, but their system is different. There a man may be elected by any constituency. Here he must be a resident of the State from which he is elected to serve in either branch of Congress. In that way the British always keep their strongest men in the Commons. At the last general parliamentary election the Liberals made such a clean sweep that the leader of the Conservatives was defeated in two districts and was compelled to appeal to a third before he could be elected. It was hinted that he was elected even then only through the connivance of the Liberal chieftains.

For a score of years Senator ALLISON was a presidential possibility, and for a decade a presidential probability. It has been frequently stated that but for the objection of one of the present Senators, who was himself a candidate for the presidential nomination in 1888, Senator ALLISON would have been nominated instead of Gen. Benjamin Harrison that year. At least twice was Senator ALLISON pressed to accept a Cabinet portfolio. He refused the tempting offers.

In the summer of 1899 I had the extraordinary and highly prized experience of conversing with two illustrious Americans now gone to their reward—Hon. James Harlan, of Iowa, the

last man nominated for a Cabinet position by Abraham Lincoln, and Judge John H. Reagan, of Texas, then the only survivor of the cabinet of Jefferson Davis.

I happened to speak in the beautiful little city where Senator Harlan resided. After the speaking, somebody told me at the hotel that the Senator, then a feeble man, was pleased to have visiting public men call on him. So I asked my informant to arrange an interview, which he did.

Senator Harlan had gone from the Senate to the Cabinet, and had the rare good fortune to go from the Cabinet back into the Senate.

So during the conversation I asked him if a man in the prime of life who liked a political career, being in the House or Senate and feeling that he had a good chance of remaining therein, would be wise in exchanging it for an appointive position.

He replied that he had been unusually fortunate in being sent back to the Senate after leaving it for the Cabinet, and his advice to such a man as I described would be not to exchange a seat in House or Senate, provided he held it by what appeared to be a certain tenure, for any appointive position except the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court of the United States or for any elective office except the Presidency of the Republic. Most assuredly that was a high estimate to place on the value of a seat in either House of Congress. Whether Senator Harlan ever communicated that idea to Senator ALLISON I do not know; but I do know that Senator ALLISON'S conduct was in harmony with Senator Harlan's idea.

Senator ALLISON was not in the lime light as much as several of his senatorial contemporaries, for there was no element of the spectacular in him, but he accomplished more, perhaps, in the way of legislation than any of them. Wherefore? Because he was conservative in all things, extreme in nothing;

conciliatory, not aggressive; kind and affable in manner; he took things by the smooth handle; he acted on one-half of a famous adage by speaking softly, even if he did not carry a big stick. In the constitution of his mind and by habit he was as much of a compromiser as was Henry Clay, and when we remember that most legislation is by compromise, we can readily understand his success.

To him belonged the blessing vouchsafed to peacemakers in the Sermon on the Mount. His country owes him much, because through his conciliatory tactics many valuable laws were placed upon the statute books. His party owes him more, because, by gentleness and skill, by patience and forbearance, he composed many quarrels and feuds within the political family to which he belonged and which, if not composed, might have rent the party in twain. It is said that his constituents will erect monuments to his memory in both Iowa and the city of Washington. He is well entitled to both. He served them well, and they honor themselves in honoring him. In this beautiful capital of a mighty nation there are too many statues of soldiers and too few statues of statesmen; for "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war."

Iowa has always been rich in public men. She has ever had and now has one of the strongest delegations in House and Senate. She has given to the service of the Republic many soldiers, jurists, orators, and statesmen. It is no exaggeration, no flattery, to say that of them all Senator WILLIAM BOYD ALLISON achieved the widest and most enduring fame.

Address of Mr. Cannon, of Illinois

Mr. Speaker: In the hurry and press of business incident to the closing hours of the short session of Congress I have had no opportunity to prepare, as I should like to have done, a fitting eulogy on the life, work, and character of Senator Allison; and yet I can not allow the occasion to pass without paying some tribute, however feeble and inadequate it may be, to his memory.

I became a Member of the House of Representatives about the time when Senator Allison was transferred from service in the House to the Senate of the United States. Before I had the honor of serving in the House I knew him by reputation, as the people generally in the Republic knew him. It was eight years after the commencement of my service in the House before I came in contact with him in the consideration of the details of legislation. That contact came in the conference room, in the process of settling disagreements between the House and the Senate in connection with the enactment of the great appropriation bills, as well as legislation of a general character. Thus for twenty-eight years, I may say, during every session of Congress I met him and grew to be very well acquainted with him.

During a period of service somewhat more extended than the usual length of service of a Member of the House of Representatives, I have found no man better equipped as a legislator than Senator Allison, and few so well equipped. He brought to the discharge of the duties of his high office the best kind of sense—great common sense.

We hear a great deal about common sense. Sometimes out in Missouri and Illinois we use the term "horse sense" when we mean common sense. Then we talk about men of extraordinary ability—geniuses. The man of uncommon sense is very uncommon, and we all know that men of uncommon sense sometimes have not much of common sense. The common sense with which Senator ALLISON was endowed might well be called "uncommon common sense," an attribute which, in my judgment, is better than genius.

A man of good, sound judgment, and possessing a well-balanced mind, I think Senator ALLISON rendered to the Republic more valuable service than perhaps any other man who served in either House or Senate during his long career.

Most people are born and live and die without making themselves amenable to the penal code. A great many men are called honest because they do not go outside the letter of the law, because they are not grafters, because they do not use their positions in public or private life for getting something without rendering an equivalent. But there is a higher grade of honesty than mere material honesty, and that is intellectual honesty, and when you say that a man is intellectually honest, in my judgment, you give him the highest possible praise. Senator ALLISON not only had integrity in the ordinary sense of the word, but he was intellectually honest.

Men in public life who do valuable work in many instances do not receive credit for it. I have known many cases where men as members of commissions and committees have spent days, weeks, and months working with great industry and with rare ripe judgment for the public weal, contributing from their knowledge and experience toward correct legislation, without one in ten thousand of the people of the great Republic knowing or appreciating their labors.

Perchance some man with far less equipment for the public service, without knowledge as to what he is talking about, may by accident or design coin a catchy phrase; it goes into the record, gets a headline in the daily press, and lo and behold, for the day that man attracts attention; whereas the men who are in fact responsible for legislation and the shaping of policies destined to affect every hearthstone in the country frequently are never heard of.

Senator ALLISON, of course, was heard of and was well known; but I have no hesitation in saying that the full value of the service he contributed to the Republic, compared with that which brought him into public notice, is not known by 1 per cent of the people.

After all, I do not complain that such is often the case. He, if living, would not complain of it. You recollect that the Master, when calling for disciples said unto a certain man, "Follow me," who replied, "Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father." But Jesus said unto him, "Follow me, and let the dead bury their dead." So it has been through the history of the race.

Now and then a man, perhaps a great warrior, sometimes a great statesman, attracts the attention of the historian, and may dwell in history according to his real or supposed merit for a generation or two generations or possibly a hundred years; whereas hundreds of his colaborers may be forgotten long before one generation has passed by. I do not complain of this. History can not record the acts of every citizen who performs service for the Republic. There would be no place to store the books that would have to be written to make such a record. Therefore, in my judgment, the men who in private life or in public life, by industry and fidelity and the exercise of good judgment in the public service, have made their contributions to the welfare of the nation and the civilization must understand

that, save in the rarely exceptional cases, when they cross over, they will be forgotten So be it. Such men have the gratification of their own approval and that of their immediate friends, and the gratification of knowing that they have labored to bring about better conditions; and they must be content with the consciousness that they have wrought to the best of their ability, and made their contributions to the present and the future good.

To this class of men belonged Senator ALLISON. In a long association with him in the conference room and elsewhere, I have never known him to try to play to the galleries. I have known him when there had been conference after conference over contested points and disagreement after disagreement quietly to smooth away the differences and effect a compromise.

He rarely wore the lion's skin; and yet upon occasions he demonstrated that he had red corpuscles in his blood, and could fight if necessary With the lion's skin ready to be donned, as it rarely was with him, for he was not the type of man to employ brute strength, he would use the arts of diplomacy to work out results.

Several times the State of Senator ALLISON presented his name to the national conventions of his party for President. All the efforts made by his friends to that end failed; but I doubt if their success would have contributed anything to Senator ALLISON'S reputation as a statesman.

One of his friends years ago complained that ALLISON did not help himself in his ambition by a show of fight by some dramatic episode that would have appealed to the hero-worshipping instinct in humanity. He said:

> If ALLISON had only knocked some man down and kicked him sometime, he would have been President.

Perhaps that is so, but I am glad such an incident was never recorded. It would not have been in harmony with ALLISON'S character. He was not that kind of a man. He did not suffer his passion to get the better of his judgment. He was ever

master of himself, and in that way became the leader of men of judgment and character, and it requires a great man to lead by judgment rather than by appeals to the imagination His strength was not in passion, nor even in the semblance of pas sion. He was not an actor, and had no histrionic power He was a quiet worker, a counselor, and he was ever ready to aid and put forward others for the dramatic work, while he remained in the background, giving the quiet influence that aided the actors to make the best appearance on the stage

As President, ALLISON would have been wise, and his administration would have represented the best spirit of the times; but he could not, even in that great place, have accomplished so much for the country as he did in the Senate, where he worked quietly and effectively to shape legislation to the best interests of the whole people.

He had little of that pride of opinion which make men insistent upon their own way of doing things and fearful of what is called 'inconsistency." He came into public life called a 'free trader," but for many years was one of the stanch defenders of protection. He was a gold-standard man, and yet introduced the Bland-Allison silver-purchase bill He was opposed to expansion, and yet was one of the ablest defenders of the Philippine policy of President McKinley and President Roosevelt. He saw his first duty as a patriotic servant of the people and accepted the will of the majority as the voice of command, and he was ever ready to do the most patriotic service of the time of action, regardless as to whether it fitted into his preconceived ideas on the particular phase of a great question. He was not an opportunist, seeking to ride the waves of public opinion; but when conditions were created, he was ready to do the most patriotic service required to bring about results.

Senator ALLISON did not compromise; he harmonized. He did not surrender principles. He looked at both sides of a ques-

tion to find the best part of both contentions. He did not care for technicalities or names, but held to great principles with tenacity and a discriminating intelligence rare in political debate, where great questions are so often discussed in passion rather than with sober judgment He never took the position that he alone could be right and all his associates wrong; that is the attribute of the barbarian.

ALLISON represented the highest type of civilization, the harmonizing of differences among men to make possible a Government where the will of the majority is the highest law of the land.

He has crossed over, and another whom I have in mind has crossed over; and therefore there can be nothing improper in what I am about to relate: On one occasion, after he had struggled in bringing his brother Senators to assent to a certain important provision which the House was insisting on, one of his colleagues on the conference committee said:

> Senator do you believe that so-and-so will obstruct an agreement on this conference report? It is now the last night of the session, and he has the power to defeat it.
>
> Oh, no—
>
> Said Senator ALLISON, in his quiet way—
>
> I have already fixed that. I have yielded to his request, and he is to have time to show the wisdom of the compromise

The compromise was made and the legislation was had.

I have already spoken longer than I anticipated, though there is much more I could say. He gave the best that was in him to the perpetuation of sound policies for the welfare of the Nation, and devotedly and faithfully represented his State. Iowa is fortunate to-day in the Representatives she has in Congress, as the gentleman from Missouri has well said, and she will be indeed fortunate if, in the future, she can be as well represented in both House and Senate as she has been in the past and is to-day.

Address of Mr. Hull, of Iowa

Mr. Chairman, Senator Allison, for more than half a century as a citizen of Iowa, endeared himself to all by his courtesy, his ability, and devotion to the duties of high station. In his death the State lost her most distinguished son and the nation one of her ablest and most trusted leaders.

My acquaintance with Senator Allison practically began when I came to Congress as the result of the election of 1890. I knew him before that as a great Senator, as a public servant in whom the people of the State had absolute confidence, but I have always felt that my real acquaintance with and knowledge of the man began with the relationship which comes to those who are working in harmony in the great legislative body of the Senate and the House.

As a new Member of Congress, I went to him for advice and counsel, and never in vain. Generous, considerate, kind, and wise, he helped every one of his colleagues who needed his assistance. To my mind a misconception, even in his own State, has grown up in regard to his characteristics and the habits of his mind. One of my colleagues earlier in to-day's proceedings referred to the fact that he was called and thought of by certain men as without firmness; in other words, accusing him of being a "trimmer."

After an intimate acquaintance with Senator Allison for the last eighteen years, I want to say that that charge against him is absolutely without foundation. He accomplished great results without the blare of trumpets and sounding of drums; he accomplished greater results than would have been possible

if he had gone at the business he sought to accomplish by first arousing antagonism. He served his country not only during the time and stress of the civil war in this House, but he served his country in the Senate of the United States when great problems affecting the credit of the nation were involved, and in place of antagonizing in trying to accomplish what we all now agree upon without regard to party as being right, he sought to avert the danger of impairment of the credit, depreciating the currency, by compromise that avoided an infinitely worse condition of affairs than those brought about through his efforts.

I think the great Senator from Iowa, by his ability to manage and harmonize and bring together conflicting interests, performed service to his Nation that has not been excelled in all the years of its past. Without his guidance the Republic would have gone upon dangerous rocks.

The first time I met Senator ALLISON was during his first canvass for the Senate of the United States. He was defeated in that campaign. Another distinguished Iowan was selected. In the next vacancy he was again a candidate, and successfully, and from that day on during his political life Senator ALLISON never was compelled to attend a session of the legislature in order to secure his reelection. The people of Iowa saw to that. His work in the House had given a broad foundation on which he could build his future political activity. His work in the Senate commended itself to the people of his State so that he stood without a rival in their affections. During all this long leadership his voice was always for harmony among his associates and for justice to all the people.

It is a pathetic figure that I recall to-day of only a year ago when, stricken with disease, he was attending to the duties of his high office and the discharge of the responsibility of his

great leadership in the Senate with the idea among some that the people of Iowa were tired of his services. Without complaint and without a moment's hesitation he pursued the even tenor of his way, discharging with great ability all the duties of his commanding place in the Senate. When doubt existed on some lines of legislation—the Congress and the Executive not in full harmony—the great Senator from Iowa pointed the way to harmony and success.

Nothing could induce him to desert his post in the Senate of the United States. Nothing could induce him to say a word of criticism against any member of his party in his State. He toiled on here until the very day of the adjournment, in the early part of June; and I know it is a gratification to every citizen of our great State, without regard to party, without regard to faction, that the people of that great State of the West, by a majority vote, gave him a certificate of confidence that was the greatest comfort to him in the last months of his life.

Mr. Speaker, Senator ALLISON lived for fifty years in the city of Dubuque. Senator ALLISON lived for half a century in the State of Iowa. When he was called to pass to the other side, the people of the State and the people of his city, in the outpouring of mourners at his grave, gave absolute proof that he stood foremost in their affection, not only as a statesman, but as a man.

He had peculiar ability as a statesman; he had most winning qualities as a man; and it seems to me that when you balance up his great life, a life of public service far beyond what is usually given, that you must, when you see the affection for him which was held by the people of Dubuque, many of whom had known him from their infancy to their manhood and womanhood; when you see that great outpouring of people, regardless of party, regardless of faction, all bearing tribute of their love

at his last resting place in the cemetery of that city of his choice, overlooking the majestic Mississippi River, near his old friend and associate, Colonel Henderson; when you see this you can say, "Here was a man."

And it does seem to me, Mr. Speaker, that in the estimate of his life, in the estimate of what he has done, more time must elapse before a true and just estimate can be made. We are too near to many of the great measures he fought to enact into law; but in the lapse of years the students of history will see that this unpretentious Senator from Iowa, this great Senator from Iowa, this constructive statesman of the United States, will take his place among the great public servants of the Republic, and his name will be revered more and more by all students of our political history as the years go by. That those who come after him may be as conspicuous in ability, as strong in leadership, as true to conviction, is the earnest hope of all citizens of our great State.

Address of Mr. Birdsall, of Iowa

Mr. Speaker: Hon. William Boyd Allison was born on a farm near Perry, Wayne County, Ohio, March 2, 1829, and died at his home in Dubuque, Iowa, August 4, 1908. His childhood days were spent like those of other country boys, in labor upon the farm and in attendance upon the district school. He then attended Allegheny College, at Meadville, Pa., and the Western Reserve College, at Hudson, Ohio In 1850 he began the study of law at Wooster, Ohio, and the following year was admitted to the Wayne County bar.

The commencement of his political career was as a delegate to the Ohio state convention in 1856, which convention supported Fremont for the Presidency.

In 1857 he came west to Iowa and located at Dubuque, immediately entering upon the practice of his profession, in which he continued actively engaged until elected to Congress. He was an able lawyer, and the published records of the Iowa courts attest the fact that he was engaged as counsel in many important cases. Mr. Allison had, however, a natural aptitude for politics, and soon established himself in the confidence not only of the people of his immediate community, but of the State at large. In 1860 he was sent as a delegate to the national Republican convention at Chicago, was one of the secretaries of that convention, and aided in the nomination of Lincoln for the Presidency.

Allison was an early friend of Hon. Samuel J. Kirkwood, the war governor of Iowa, and upon the breaking out of the civil war was appointed a member of his staff and rendered valuable

service in recruiting and enlisting a regiment in northeastern Iowa for the war. In 1862, he was elected to Congress and served by successive terms until March 4, 1871, declining reelection. He was promptly elected to the Senate of the United States for the term commencing March 4, 1873, and served continuously in that body until his death, on August 4, 1908.

In June, 1908, he received the indorsement of the Republican party of Iowa for reelection as his own successor for the term commencing March 4, 1909.

His term of service in the Congress of the United States is exceeded by that of but one other man in the history of our Nation, and his term of continuous service in the Senate exceeds that of any other man who ever served in that great body.

What a period in American history, my colleagues, is covered by his service here and in the Senate. With what events and what names his career is indissolubly connected, and how intimately he was associated with them. When he entered this House the clash of arms resounded throughout the Nation; brother was battling with brother in internecine conflict; the Constitution was being sorely tried by the convulsions of a Nation engaged in purifying itself. He saw that Nation redeemed, the Constitution sustained and made supreme in the land. He lived to see the clouds of error pass away, the mists of prejudice and passion dissipated. He lived to see a government of the people, this monument to liberty and human freedom, wrought out through so much blood and treasure, builded upon a safe and secure foundation among the nations of the earth.

He helped to adorn the entablatures of that monument with the best fruits of peace and national progress, and to transmit it to posterity unstained and undimmed, carved with an imperishable record of valor and achievement.

In this House he was the colleague of Blaine, Stevens, and Garfield. In the Senate, of Bayard of Delaware, Logan of Illinois, Morton of Indiana, Ingalls of Kansas, Hamlin of Maine, Conkling of New York, Sherman and Thurman of Ohio, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Edmunds and Morrill of Vermont, Howe of Wisconsin, and other great men whose names adorn our history for the past thirty-five years.

Thrice offered Cabinet positions, he thrice refused, preferring to remain in the Senate and in the service of that great State whose people had learned his worth and loved and honored him.

He was the trusted counselor of Presidents and Cabinets from Lincoln to Roosevelt. No narrow system sunk him to the vulgar level of the politician. No domestic difficulties, no domestic weakness, surrounded him; but, aloof from the sordid occurrences of life, his sole ambition was the welfare of his country, and to this end he gave a lifetime of unremitting toil. He was a master of tact, and succeeded in subduing conflicts in the Senate when genius and talent failed.

He was for peace, but never at the sacrifice of principle. A leader in his party, seeking no self-advancement, his counsels were respected and his advice usually followed. He was the peaceful Warwick of American politics.

The handiwork and brainwork of Senator ALLISON, found running through the statutes of the past forty-five years, attest his industry and capacity as a statesman and legislator. Our laws are but a reflex of the policy and manners of the age in which we live, and furnish the only reliable index to posterity of our achievements. The Tables of the Hebrew law, the Institutes of Menu, the Code of Justinian and that of Napoleon alike, furnish but a reflection of the genius, habits, civilization, and morals of a people. So the past forty-five years of American progress, the habits and morals of our people, will be reflected in the statutes of its lawmakers.

He was a moderate in legislation, but neither a laggard nor obstructionist. He loved the Constitution and believed it the ark of our safety, but welcomed reforms along any lines that could be safely pursued within the limits of our fundamental law. He welcomed progress, but also held fast to that which had been found sound and safe in governmental action and had little patience for those who wanted to see if the machine would run when broken.

Mr. Speaker, as a nation we are set upon a hill in sight of all the other nations of the earth. We are working out here an experiment in self-government upon a scale never before attempted anywhere on earth. Ninety millions of people now—200,000,000 at the close of the present century—scattered over an area as large as all Europe, with a climate and with interests as diversified as are those of England and Russia, Norway and Spain, it is for our posterity to determine whether this vast population will hold together under the form of a republic or whether centralization will get the better through actual or disguised monarchy; whether shifting corruption is better than permanent bureaucracy, and as our great cities increase in population the specter of want and the gaunt figure of famine will stalk through the land and socialism and communism claim to be heard. Truly, America has a great future before her—great in care, great in toil, great in responsibility, great in true glory—if she be guided in wisdom and righteousness, great in shame if she fail.

Well for us and our posterity if men of the ALLISON mold shall shape our destiny as a nation and are on guard to pilot the "ship of state."

Senator ALLISON was a gentleman of the old school, a philosopher of the new school, with the manners of Chesterfield and the learning of Parr, and combined with it all the gentleness and modesty of a woman. He was a worker.

He honored toil and dignified labor because he knew that within its warp and woof was contained the destiny of mankind. He had received the poor man's heritage, "Strong hands and a still hardier spirit."

Reared upon a farm, it was there, amid the fragrance of the clover blossom and the perfume of a thousand flowers, where reflection went hand in hand with honest toil, that were laid those habits of industry that became the chief characteristic of his after life. By the light of the faggot he commenced in early life to store his mind with useful knowledge and in all his years kept garnering to that fund until his mind became a vast storehouse of information useful to his fellow-men.

The faculty of his mind for detail seemed infinite, and I believe it can truthfully be said that no other man in the public life of the nation, either past or present, possessed so much knowledge of the intricate details of government. An event, a fact, a figure once impressed upon his memory seemed to be indelible and always capable of recall at his command, enabling him, though not an eloquent man, to express gigantic sentiments of instructive wisdom.

Mr. Speaker, the ancients deified their great men by dividing the stars into constellations named for them, that their memories might ever be before them; later pyramids and obelisks were built for the same purpose. Now monuments and commemorative tablets are erected to perpetuate the memory of the dead; but the greatest monument to any man is that builded by his own hands and engraven on the hearts of the people.

Three generations of men in the State of Iowa have known and loved Senator ALLISON, and his name and memory are engraven on the hearts of our people.

On the day when his remains were taken to their final resting place his home city was in mourning; business suits were hung

in the closet; not a wheel in a factory stirred; not an office or place of business opened its doors. Thousands of people lined the way from his home to the cemetery, and with bowed heads attested their regard for a neighbor and respect to his ashes, while throughout our entire State a great and grateful people, their pulse beating in mournful unison, paid reverential homage to our illustrious dead.

The record of his life will furnish an inspiration to youth, a lesson to age. A public life unsullied, a private life stainless as the stars, for he can say unto his heavenly friend, "I have kept unfringed my nature's law; the only written chart thou gavest me to guide me I have steered by to the end."

Amid the vicissitudes, allurements, and temptations of public life he demonstrated "that even in a palace life may be led well."

He died in the fullness of his years, ripe for the sickle, and ready for the Reaper. The world is better for his having lived; heaven will be richer for his having died.

With what further forms shall the great law of change and progress clothe its workings, gently so have good men taught into the new, the eternal flow of things, like a peaceful river of the fields of heaven shall journey onward in perpetual peace.

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Address of Mr. Haugen, of Iowa

Mr. Speaker: Time will not now permit me to say all that I would like to say of the life, the services, and character of this great, grand, and noble man; but Senator Allison's public and private life, as well as the character and magnitude of his public work, have been so eloquently and well described by his friends, both in the Senate and House, that I will not particularize as to his eight years of service in the House and thirty-five years in the Senate, but will confine myself to a brief but sincere and loving tribute to his memory; not as a formal duty, but as a heartfelt tribute of affection—to speak of him as I knew him; to speak the truth as he would have one speak of him. Knowing him intimately, and admiring him as I did, and having studied his grand life and character, I know that if he could have a voice as to the character of this day's exercises, with his sense of propriety, his high regard for truth, honor, modesty, dignity, and integrity, he would not countenance false praise or desire that he be pictured in other than true colors.

With a life so bright, a character so pure, so many grand and noble qualities manifest in every walk of his life, both private and public, we have sufficient material to draw from to paint the most beautiful picture of a true man imaginable. I got to know him well, and the better I knew him the more I adored him—the more I loved and felt for him.

I first met Senator Allison about thirty years ago. He had the usual experience of men in politics, and especially of men who do great things well. He was then misrepresented, maligned, and made the target for criticism, abuse, slander, and

libel invented by malicious enemies; but his onward and upward march was not to be impeded; he could not be despaired, nor could his usefulness be destroyed. Violent and unjust criticism was entirely ignored and disregarded; he steadily worked along the lines of duty as he saw it; misconception and misrepresentation of his purposes vanished; year by year he became stronger; the whole country came to understand that he was a great man and worthy of the most implicit confidence. Notwithstanding the fact that he was thus maligned, misrepresented, and misunderstood, his noble character, his patriotic and faithful services endeared him to his countrymen and gave him a most prominent place of honor, not only in our country's history, but in the hearts of the American people as a statesman, a citizen of the highest type of character, and as a pure, grand man. He was held in most exceptional esteem and admiration by not only the people of his own great State, but his popularity went far beyond the borders of his own State and country to remote parts of the world.

Twelve years ago, when a member of our state legislature, when Senator ALLISON came up for reelection to the United States Senate, and was also prominently mentioned for President of the United States, I first became intimately acquainted with him. He was then at the zenith of his power, both mentally and physically.

Like most great men, Senator ALLISON was plain, simple, unassuming, unpretentious, and unselfish. "Simplicity belongs to greatness."

He was a thorough, kind, and obliging gentleman, of ability, purity, integrity, and the highest type of character; always genial, kind, cheery, generous, patient, considerate, and helpful to others. He always had a kind word for all, and was always ready to lend a helping hand, not for selfish purposes, but that

he might the better serve them; not aggressive or sentimental in his methods, but always calm, patient, and industrious, with a clear, broad mind, good judgment, and keen vision, ever seeking to secure the best practical results. His natural talent, his good common sense; yes, his uncommon good common sense and intelligent honesty, so correctly described and beautifully pictured by the Speaker; his large store of knowledge of the needs and resources of this Government, acquired during his long term of service in the Senate, prepared by eight years in the House of Representatives; his good judgment; his never questioning integrity; his unswerving fidelity to public interests; his unfaltering faith and rectitude of purpose, dominated by the noblest and loftiest ideals; his firm determination to do justice and right; and, above all things, his abiding devotion to truthfulness, always shunning deceit, conceit, and cunning practices, made him an unusually popular and valuable servant to his country.

He was blessed with extraordinary intelligence, endurance, and foresight; a wonderful intuition and powers of comprehension; a most pleasing personality and an agreeable voice. Senator ALLISON, with so many grand virtues assembled, coupled with his never resisting charm of personality, became an acknowledged authority and an accepted leader. With his ripened experience, naturally the Senate and country looked to him for guidance and as an adviser and leader. As stated by one of his colleagues, "He was to the Senate that of a trusted pilot to a ship." He was for years one of the foremost Americans and statesmen, and his work and achievements left an indelible impression upon his countrymen, and history will give him a place in the front rank of the statesmen and citizens of his time.

As a statesman, Mr ALLISON, in many respects, had no superior. His great work was largely in the Committees on

Appropriations and Finance, but his work and influence were not confined to measures coming before those two great committees. He gave every question of importance careful and thoughtful consideration, which gave him a most comprehensive knowledge of national and international affairs and a thorough understanding of every important question that arose, and he always had at his command the detail and history of all important matters which led up to the issue. He was resourceful, ever ready to yield to better reason when it was made manifest; a man with a clear and practical mind, a remarkable degree of genius and common sense, honest in thought and purpose, honest with the world, honest with himself, true to his neighbors and friends, a most attractive personality, with warm and glorious impulses, and most delightful in his companionship, all of which drew his friends close to him.

Though an acknowledged leader—a place and power achieved not by accident, but by his genius and deeds well done, the virtue of honor, truth, labor, and devotion to duty—he never sought distinction by advertising himself or by pushing himself ahead. Apparently he was unconscious of his power, standing, and position. He was not one of those who passed himself to the front in active debate; his usually good common sense and his knowledge of human nature and men enabled him to determine when and how to move, and it was generally in the final stages of the settlement of complex and difficult questions that his master art in construction and conciliation was applied with skill and effect, and that in the end his words and suggestions determined the fate of the question.

While he possessed to a full degree the power of great initiative, and was essentially a creator, not a destroyer, yet his master art was conciliation. He sought no compromise with wrong. What was right was right; what was wrong was wrong. He

occupied no middle ground when the question of right and wrong was involved. He was a total stranger to the art of demagogy and duplicity. He was not an orator. His life work was not that of framing beautiful sentences, yet he was a speaker of uncommon power. His fancy was not rhetoric or to become an orator; he cared little for eloquence. He was a student; his aim was to get at facts, to fully understand and solve conscientiously and in a practical manner all questions with which he had to deal. He was one of the clearest, cleanest, and soundest minded of men, and with his ripened knowledge little attention was given to his speeches in advance, but they were shaped and fashioned as he delivered them. With his thorough knowledge of all questions, without previous preparation, he would at times speak for hours with great energy and fluency, mastering the subjects discussed with plain but forceful and orderly arranged language; and his able and logical presentation of facts and lucidity of utterances always received sympathetic attention, and his speeches proved most effective.

He was a good politician as well as a great statesman; he had a good memory for names and incidents. Prominent and influential as he was, naturally his advice and counsel was sought in determining political policies as well as in shaping legislation of national and international importance. His advice, counsel, and help were not desired by politicians and statesmen alone, but many people in all walks of life were benefited by it. As Carrie Harrison, an intimate friend of his, writes me:

> Many and many a time at his home his reception hall was crowded with people. Women in tears beseeched his advice and help as they would that of a father or priest, and he considered their petitions as a father would those of his own children.

And as has been referred to here to-day, he was to the Iowa delegation like a father. He filled a great place among the

greatest men of his time. His death seemed a most unusual public loss. From Senator ALLISON'S life and character there are many lessons we may learn. Among the choicest memories, those that I will forever cherish, are his confidence and uninterrupted friendship, his noble life and character, and his deeds well done.

That he was respected, loved, and mourned by all classes in his country; that his honesty, character, patriotism, loyalty, and greatness were recognized, was fully demonstrated at his funeral at Dubuque, Iowa; and evidences of the regard and warm friendship entertained by his countrymen were made manifest by the multitude of people at his bier, coming not only from friends and neighbors in his home city and State, but from the remote parts of the whole country, there to pay their last sad tribute of love and to express a deep sense of bereavement.

Address of Mr. Conner, of Iowa

Mr. Speaker: The death of a prominent citizen inevitably results in bringing his life before the bar of public opinion for criticism and judgment. This is especially true as to one who for many years has been a conspicuous actor in the affairs of his country.

The estimate which the people form of a public man while living is less reliable than after his death. During his life his enemies are apt to minimize his virtues and his friends to magnify them; but after his death the world calmly and dispassionately weighs both the good and evil in his life and judges him fairly and impartially.

Fortunate, indeed, is the man who, after a long public career, when overtaken by death, has it universally said of him that his life made the world richer, and his death made it poorer.

Senator Allison was a distinguished citizen of the Republic, and while in a sense he belonged to the State of Iowa, because his home was there and from there he bore his commission, yet in a broader sense he belonged to the Nation.

For almost half a century prior to his death he was a national character, giving his time and services for the benefit of the whole country. While the State of Iowa is proud to claim him as her son, she recognizes the merit of the claim that he belonged to the Nation at large.

Iowa has produced many distinguished men and is proud of their achievements, but comparing them with Senator Allison, it is safe to assert that from the standpoint of statesmanship

and legislative ability, not one of them was his equal, and it is doubtful if the Nation during his time produced his superior.

Senator ALLISON's usefulness to his country and his capacity to serve it have not up to this date been fully appreciated. Time, however, will bring his splendid qualities as a statesman and lawmaker to be fully recognized.

The elements in him which contributed to his success were those which are generally found in great characters. He was possessed of a strong mentality, which enabled him to readily grasp and solve the great problems which from time to time have presented themselves during the last fifty years.

He was honest from principle and habit, and not as a matter of policy. No one ever came in contact with him without being impressed with his good faith and sincerity. His habits of industry were known to everyone familiar with his life. Not one of his colleagues in Congress kept in closer touch with the details of legislation, and no one more assiduously perused the daily Congressional Record for the purpose of keeping posted on pending legislation.

It was because of these facts that his colleagues leaned upon him and trusted him to guide them in important matters of legislation. It was not an infrequent occurrence, when complicated matters were pending in the Senate, for Senator ALLISON, by a timely suggestion, to solve the difficulties which confronted that body and to bring about legislation of a wholesome character.

He was universally courteous in his demeanor, always respectful in his treatment of those with whom he came in contact. The genial smile which lighted up his face when in conversation won for him the lasting friendship of those who met him.

It is a great compliment to the State of Iowa to have it said that the uninterrupted service of Senator ALLISON in the Senate

of the United States was longer than that of any other man, and a still greater compliment to have it said that his services were of greater value to his country than those of any other man.

His life should be an example for the young men of the country, and we will all do well to emulate the virtues of this wise and illustrious statesman.

Address of Mr. Hubbard, of Iowa

Mr. Speaker: We have just commemorated the birthday of Lincoln. To-morrow we recall with gratitude the name of Washington. The very greatness of these heroes has removed them, in a measure, from the common air, and they are become revered and symbolic names, typifying the making and saving of the Union.

We, friends, are assembled here to fondly recall the face and memory of a great man, once our friend, so newly gone that his touch and smile are still familiar, his voice still lingers. I can not analyze with weight and balance the elements that made Senator Allison great. He himself, I have been told, looked back half humorously, half in wonder, at the career which had lifted the obscure country lawyer, starting without wealth, friends, or favor, to the leadership of the Senate, to an untitled premiership in nearly every administration for forty years. To a friend he spoke of this with modest pride and patriotic wisdom. To him his life was but another proof of the creative power of free institutions, taking our native clay and from it making and shaping men as men are needed. He said that the glory and safety of the Republic is that it is not governed by great men, but by common men, whom it raises to the heights of sacrifice, wisdom, and power, as the exigency requires.

My mind refuses to dwell upon his greatness. I mark him not in this hour, when I need but close my eyes to see his grave, by the laws he made, by his long years of distinguished public service. But tears are near and lips tremble when I see the indwelling spirit of the man. How gentle and patient that

kindly wisdom, which made you your own adviser, you scarcely knew how. How friendly and unobtrusive the counsel—felt rather than heard. His very presence ended strife and appeased contention.

I can see him now as he greeted your coming with outstretched hand, with welcoming smile, with never-failing, heartfelt courtesy. His hand shall clasp our hand never again, his smile never more shall light our way; his memory shall dwell with us enduringly.

He is at rest. He dwells in peace. Peace, perfect peace be his.

Address of Mr. Dawson, of Iowa

Mr. Speaker: It was my good fortune to be associated with Senator William Boyd Allison in close, confidential relations for a period of six years. That association gave me an unusual opportunity to observe his life and character and to measure the importance of his service to the people and to the Nation. And if what I have to say of this distinguished statesman shall exceed in length the tributes usually paid on occasions of this kind, I ask the indulgence and the pardon of the House, because my words are prompted by a sincere appreciation of his high and unselfish public service and a deep and abiding affection for the man.

His record as a statesman and public servant will probably never be surpassed. It was a service not simply remarkable because of its length, but even more remarkable because of its importance. He entered this House as a Member when the Union was shattered by secession and the Nation in the throes of civil war; and an appreciative constituency kept him here for four terms and then promoted him to the Senate, where he served for a longer period than any man in the history of the Republic. Six successive times did the legislature of our State choose him for this high station, and only a few weeks before his death the grateful people of Iowa, by a decisive majority in a direct primary, renewed his commission for six years more.

To review the public career of Senator Allison would be to write the history of the Republican party from its birth to the present time; it would mean a review of practically all the important legislation enacted by Congress during the past forty-

five years. The history of those years is without a parallel in the annals of time; it is the brightest half century which any nation has enjoyed since the dawn of civilization. The milestones which mark the progress of the Republic during that period are the great policies for which that party has stood: Free soil, free men, the Union, the payment of the debt, honest money, protection to American industry, internal development, the gold standard, the maintenance of law, and government regulation of great corporations. Under the operation of these policies we have become the most rich and powerful Nation on earth, and our development is the marvel of the civilized world.

Senator ALLISON not only had an important part in shaping these great policies, but no man in the Senate had a larger hand in that more difficult and exacting task of embodying them into the statute law of the land.

One writer expressed it tersely when he said that—

> He has not made as much noise as Alexander, or as much trouble as Julius Cæsar, but he has written into the statute books of his country more useful legislation than any legislator who has ever lived in this country or in any other government.

His first conspicuous service to the Nation, after assisting in the nomination of Abraham Lincoln for President in 1860, was in starting the movement to permit soldiers in the field to vote at the election in 1862. He induced Governor Kirkwood to call a special session of the Iowa legislature, which passed an act permitting soldiers at the front to vote. The action of Iowa was immediately followed by other Northern States, thus insuring a Congress in harmony with Lincoln's administration.

He bore a more influential part than any other man in all the financial legislation from the establishment of the national banking system in 1864, onward to the resumption act of 1875, the coinage act of 1878, down to the gold-standard act of 1900, and yet, because of his unwillingness in life to claim the credit

which was rightfully his due, his name is popularly linked with only one of these great fiscal measures—the Bland-Allison Act of 1878.

We are all more or less familiar with that act, but few appreciate the far-reaching importance and the momentous consequences to our currency system which resulted from that portion of it drafted by Senator ALLISON. The Bland bill, as it passed the House of Representatives, provided for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, and in this form went over to the Senate and was referred to the Committee on Finance, which then consisted of nine members—four free-silver men, four gold-standard men, and WILLIAM B. ALLISON. A flat vote on one side meant free silver, with the result of making silver the single and sole standard of value; on the other side, a deadlock between the two Houses of Congress, with continued agitation and uncertainty on this vital subject at a time when the country was greatly disturbed over the question. In this crisis in the monetary affairs Senator ALLISON came forward with two amendments which obviated both of these difficulties, saved the country from the catastrophe of unrestricted silver coinage, and laid the foundation for the absolute acceptance of the gold standard.

In brief, these amendments provided for the limited coinage of silver by the Government and a conference of the nations of the world looking to international bimetallism. Subsequent events amply proved the wisdom of these amendments. After they had been adopted by Congress, both political parties accepted the proposition for an international conference and incorporated it in their platforms down to 1896, when the supreme test on the silver question was made.

In plain, understandable English the result of these two amendments was, first, the plan for limited coinage on govern-

ment account, which strengthened the basic principle of the gold standard and pushed to the rear the demand for free and unlimited coinage of silver; and, second, the proposal for an international agreement removed the money question from partisan politics until such time as the logic of events had made the gold standard impregnable.

I need not review the fierce political battles that raged in two presidential campaigns over the money question. It is enough to say that when the lamented President McKinley, on March 14, 1900, affixed his signature to the gold-standard act and made it a law he wrote "finis" to the liveliest and most exciting chapter in the monetary history of the United States. Senator ALLISON had a large part in writing that law, and its successful operation up to this time is known to all.

Less familiarity exists, however, with one feature of that law, a provision which marks a new epoch in the history of governmental financiering. The refunding provision of that law, which was drafted by Senator ALLISON, not only uplifted the standard of our national credit, but actually saved to the Government the enormous sum of sixteen and a half million dollars. The Allison refunding plan has demonstrated the ability of this Government to float a 2 per cent bond at par and to reduce the interest rate on more than one-half of its bonded indebtedness from 3, 4, and 5 per cent to 2 per cent.

When the Allison refunding amendment to the gold-standard act was presented it was characterized by not a few prominent Members of Congress as "rainbow chasing," and the skepticism extended even to the then Secretary of the Treasury. It was attempting the unattainable, they said, to ask holders of government bonds to surrender 4 and 5 per cent interest and accept 2 instead; and was not at that moment England's choicest $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent bonds and Germany's imperial 3 per cents selling

below par? Some even characterized the proposition as visionary, but its author persevered, and the amendment became a part of the law.

In theory the plan seemed to be unworkable; in practice it demonstrated that American credit is the highest in the world. Under that amendment $646,250,150 of the public debt was refunded into 2 per cent bonds at a net profit to the Government of $16,551,037.54. Up to this time more than one-half of the public debt has been converted from an average of 4 per cent interest to 2 per cent, and if you will examine the bond quotations in the daily papers you will note that these 2 per cent bonds were quoted yesterday above par.

This tremendous fiscal operation has gone on without the slightest jar to the money market and practically unbeknown to the public generally.

These examples of his conspicuous service to his country in financial legislation are only two of a large number of similar instances, both great and small, which might be cited to show how and why he attained his distinction as one of the greatest economists and financiers in the world. That he was so regarded is evidenced by the distinguished service he rendered as chairman of the International Monetary Conference of 1892 at Brussels and by the invitations extended to him by Presidents Garfield and Harrison to enter their respective cabinets as Secretary of the Treasury.

But equally distinguished and valuable was his service to the Republic in connection with the revenue and tariff laws, a service which by unanimous consent won for him the title of the "Greatest tariff expert in the nation." He possessed the broadest, deepest, and most comprehensive knowledge of tariff and governmental finance of any statesman of his time.

There is no class of legislation more intricate than that relating to the tariff. The first consideration must be the broad, general effect on the economic situation. To determine this requires the most careful consideration of the effects to be produced on the various industries involved, and no general tariff revision is made without affecting more or less directly every industry in the country. Questions of prices to consumers as well as to producers, the upbuilding of commerce and industry, the raising of revenue, the effect on foreign and home markets, the relations of treaty obligations, and countless other considerations great and small present themselves in bewildering confusion.

With the preparation of every one of the hundreds of paragraphs in each of the dozen or more schedules of a tariff bill comes pressure from those directly affected. From absinthe, aconite, and acorns down to zaffer, Zante currants, and zinc there are approximately 5,000 articles included in a tariff bill, and every man who buys or sells, imports or exports, produces or consumes any of them has an inalienable right to be heard, and most of them are not backward in coming forward to assert it.

Thirty-eight years' service on committees which formulate and perfect tariff bills made this ordeal oft-recurring to Senator ALLISON. Patient, thoughtful, and thorough attention to the endless details of frequent complete tariff revisions, to say nothing of partial revisions and attempts at revision which failed, followed by the prodigal expenditure of adroitness and skill in piloting the bills through the tortuous channels of legislation, and the nerve-racking task of finally adjusting in conference the complex differences between the two Houses—this is the price he paid for this title which the public bestowed upon him.

In 1865 he was assigned to the Committee on Ways and Means by Speaker Colfax—an unusual honor for a Member in his second term. He continued as a member of that committee during the remainder of his service in this body, and served on the Finance Committee in the Senate from 1877 up to the time of his death. He has played an important part in the preparation and passage of every tariff bill for the past forty-five years.

A careful search of the records will disclose the fact that much of the tariff legislation written into our statute books during the last half century was actually penned by the hand of Senator ALLISON. As an example of his constructive ability in this direction, I might call attention to the fact that he wrote the tin-plate schedule which was first embodied into law in the McKinley tariff act of 1890—a schedule around which raged more fierce political discussion than any in recent times. This schedule was denounced and defended from one end of the country to the other, and there are many people who believe that the heated denunciation of this particular paragraph of the McKinley bill, which made it a national issue, followed as it was by the building up in our country of a great industry, was one of the most important factors in elevating the beloved and now lamented McKinley to the Presidency of the United States.

Be that as it may, it is a matter of record that Senator ALLISON was the author of this particular schedule. It will be recalled that the Democrats had control of the House in the Fiftieth Congress, and under the leadership of Hon. Roger Q. Mills, of Texas, this House passed what is known as the Mills bill (H. R. 9051)—a complete revision of the tariff. The bill went to the Senate and was referred to the Finance Committee. The Republicans had control of the Senate in that Congress,

and when this bill was reported to the Senate, July 21, 1888, by Senator ALLISON, the House bill was all stricken out, and in its place was a revision of the tariff based on the principle of protection. An entirely new bill had been drafted by the Finance Committee, and in that bill appeared the first attempt to put a duty on tin plate. In the steel schedule of that bill is the following paragraph:

147. Sheets or plates of iron and steel, or taggers iron or steel, coated with tin or lead, or with a mixture of which these metals, or either of them, is a component part, by the dipping or any other process, and commercially known as tin plates, terne plates, and taggers tin, 1 cent per pound.

The Mills bill and the Senate substitute failed of enactment, the two Houses being unable to agree.

In the succeeding Congress (the Fifty first) the Republicans had a majority in both the House and Senate, and the McKinley bill became a law October 1, 1890. That bill, as reported to the House and finally passed, contained the tin-plate paragraph above quoted verbatim et literatim.

It is no reflection upon the Committee on Ways and Means or upon its distinguished chairman that they incorporated into their bill this paragraph and many others which had been carefully worked out by the Senate committee in the previous Congress—they simply accepted the judgment of the other branch of Congress, formally expressed two years before.

While Senator ALLISON had a large and important part in writing the laws which produced the revenues, he had an equally important part in controlling the expenditures of the Government. From the time of his entry into the Senate in 1873 to the date of his death he was a member of the Committee on Appropriations and for nearly twenty-five years its chairman. During his incumbency as chairman he bore the tremendous responsibility of scrutinizing the appropriation of nearly $15,000,000,000.

Chairmanship of the Committee on Appropriations means constant toil and labor and the performance of more legislative drudgery than falls to the lot of any other committee. Senator ALLISON'S sagacity and painstaking endeavors in this influential position undoubtedly saved his country millions of dollars. Not a penny of private gain ever came to him by his public service. He lived and died a poor man.

The highest tribute which can be paid to a man's service in Congress is the estimate of those with whom he associates, and in all the history of the Senate no man has ever attained greater influence or higher respect and confidence of all his associates, without regard to party, than did Senator ALLISON.

For several years prior to his death he was unanimously selected as chairman of the Republican caucus and also chairman of the committee on the order of business, commonly called the "steering committee." In addition, he was empowered by the caucus to designate the other members of the steering committee and to name the committee on committees. The functions of these two committees, in executing the will of the majority party, is of the most far-reaching importance and consequence.

As is well known, the committee on committees has control of the assignment of Senators to committee places; in short, determines the personnel of the standing committees of the Senate. As to the steering committee, no reference to it is found in any of the government publications, and yet it is one of the most potential factors in the whole congressional legislative machine. It is the safety valve, the governor, and the brakes on the wheels, all in one. On broad lines, it determines what legislation shall be pressed for passage and what shall slumber in pigeonholes. It is a shaper of party policy—the watchdog of legislative enactment.

In intrusting the selection of these two committees to Senator ALLISON, more power over legislation could not well be conferred upon one man under a republican form of government. Certainly the United States Senate, regarded by some as the greatest legislative body in the world, could not bestow a greater badge of honor and confidence upon anyone.

And with what consummate wisdom and fairness did Senator ALLISON make up these powerful committees. I recall his method of choosing the steering committee of 10 members. With approximately 60 Republican Senators, they were divided geographically into groups of 6, beginning with New England and going through to the Pacific coast. From each of these groups of 6 Senators he selected 1 member of the steering committee, thus giving to every section of the country a representative upon this governing committee.

It was this unfailing spirit of fairness, coupled with wisdom and unerring judgment, which enabled him to do great things. The guiding star of his life was that brief sentence of Bacon's: "Knowledge is power."

Upon every important subject of legislation as it came up he worked with unflagging zeal to store his well-ordered mind with all the information available, and he never stopped until he had completely mastered the subject in detail. A close observer, a careful student, a clear thinker, and eminently practical, he proved all things and held fast to that which is good. As a consequence, those who were less informed, having implicit confidence in his judgment, were content to follow his lead, and I have never heard of anyone going wrong by so doing.

For many years he sat at the head of the table of the leaders of the Senate—the beloved and undisputed arbiter of that body. When important measures of legislation were threatened with defeat because of the pronounced differences of men, when complex legislative situations arose, Congress instinctively turned

to Senator ALLISON to smooth over the rough places and point the way out of the difficulty. He possessed that rare faculty of harmonizing the apparently irreconcilable views of radical and obstinate men; his wise counsel saved many a worthy measure from failure. He was enabled to do this by his solid qualities of character, his well-poised mind, his clear perception, his patience, integrity, honesty, and single-minded devotion to the interests of the people.

Others might wrangle, but he never lost his temper. Others might impugn the motives of men, but he was ever mindful of the rights of his fellows. He occupied a place above the strife and contention of factions; he was the embodiment of prudence, patriotism; always calm, serene, optimistic.

With the quiet dignity of unconscious power he modestly performed his tasks—doing great things, but doing them quietly. To him the modern idea of glory measured by newspaper headlines was distasteful, almost repugnant. So content was he with the mere satisfaction of duty faithfully performed that he would not even allow his friends to claim for him the credit which was rightfully his.

It was in the committee room, where the real work of Congress is done, that his greatest impress on legislation was made. I dare say that within the four walls of the inner room of the Senate Committee on Appropriations more important legislation has been put into final form and more crises in the affairs of the Republic have been wisely met and solved than in any other spot in this capital. And in it all the wise conservatism and keen foresight of Iowa's most distinguished statesman have been determining factors.

While performing these larger tasks for the Nation, he was never unmindful of the interests of his State and her individual citizens. No man in all the history of Iowa has been so helpful to as many people, and an appeal from the humblest citizen met

the same hearty and considerate attention as did the greater affairs of his life. If the little things which he did for others could all be brought together, it would form the greatest monument which can be erected to the conscientious devotion and zeal to this faithful public servant.

But Senator ALLISON is loved not only for what he did, but for what he was. He had a most attractive personality. Amiable in disposition, cordial in his bearing, his unfailing courtesy, quiet temperament, and charm of manner won for him the lasting esteem and admiration of all with whom he came in contact. His private life was as free from blemish as his public life was from the breath of scandal. A prodigious worker, he found relaxation and recreation in the quiet of his library here in Washington or at his home in Dubuque, with the companionship of his friends and his books and papers.

When George Washington died it was said of him that Providence left him childless in order that he might be in a closer sense the Father of his Country. Senator ALLISON, when bereft of his chosen companion, gave his whole life to the service of his country and his country alone. His highest ambition was the happiness and welfare of the people.

His memory will always be cherished not only for his greatness but for his goodness. Long association demonstrated to me that the strongest personal trait of this great man was his kindliness of heart and the consideration he invariably showed toward others. I never heard him utter an unkind word of a fellow-man, and he never harbored resentment toward another, no matter how great the provocation.

Possessed of a nature at once amiable and unselfish, he won his way into the affections of the people by his sincerity and strength, his generosity and kindliness. He was a living exemplification of the Golden Rule, and his lovable character and noble spirit has enshrined him for all time in the hearts of the people of his State and country.

Address of Mr. Hamilton, of Iowa

Mr. Speaker: Not having been personally acquainted with Senator Allison and only serving one session in this House while he served his last term in the Senate, I can not speak of him personally, but only as one of his constitutents who for years held him in high regard, though differing politically. Senator Allison's name in his home State was known by every man, woman, and child. It was known to be revered, whether they agreed with him politically or otherwise. He was looked upon as being conscientious in whatever work he undertook to accomplish. And it seems to me the life and success of every man in this world is measured by what they accomplish and not by what they profess. Senator Allison made no vaunting profession, but steadily worked at his task until he had accomplished as nearly as possible the purpose in view. He was not one of those statesmen that we hear spoken of as a man who keeps his ear to the ground, but he was of that class of statesmen upon whom, after the man who keeps his ear to the ground and has perhaps mistaken the current there received and stirred by agitation the minds of the populace and caused all sorts of turmoil and disturbance, it rested to pour oil on the troubled waters and to bring out of this chaotic condition the legislation necessary for the progress and prosperity of his country.

This was the sphere he occupied as a statesman. Not an agitator, but one who steadily ground out those things which are absolutely necessary for the general welfare of the whole country. Not only did he occupy this position as a statesman

in the halls of legislation, but my friends upon the floor of the House well know that he occupied a like position in one of the great political parties of this country with whom he had cast his lot—that political party which, whether we admit wisely or unwisely, has brought forth practically all the legislation for the last forty years, that has controlled the affairs of this country. In that political party he was also a peacemaker, and in their partisan difficulties, in their political strifes, it was he, not only in the State of Iowa, but in the Nation, that many times the leaders of his party went to in order that they might smooth over the difficulties that had arisen.

He always had a keen appreciation of the many diversified interests of the country—realizing that in order to carry out that principle, "the greatest good to the greatest number," it was necessary to concede many points in order to harmonize all. Like many others, he at one time possessed the ambition to be President of the United States. He, however, did not allow his personal ambition to overcome his never wavering devotion to his party or his country. Personal ambition with him was secondary to public service.

Therefore I say upon this occasion that he was one of that class of men that the country most needs—a man who, as has been stated here to-day, is capable of taking hold of the loose ends that have been unraveled by the strife of others, and by his power of compromise, his power almost of convincing a man against his will; by that power which he possessed he has done more, in my judgment, toward the legislation that has been placed upon the statute books of this country in the last forty years than any other one man in this Nation; and, as I suggested a moment ago, while not personally acquainted with Senator ALLISON, when I attended his funeral and saw the thousands of his neighbors and friends who lined the streets as

his remains were taken to their last resting place, I could not help realizing that he was a man of a kind heart and of a loving disposition, else not this demonstration.

I will say in conclusion that he has left us a statesmanship to be emulated, but one difficult to surpass.

Address of Mr. Kennedy, of Iowa

Mr. Speaker, I heard Senator Harlan relate how William Boyd Allison came to enter congressional life. He had taken quite an active interest in public affairs in Iowa and had rendered valuable service to Governor Kirkwood in raising troops to be sent to the front during the war. Early in the sixties he was a candidate for district attorney for the district of Iowa, and having received the indorsement of the two Senators from Iowa, he came to Washington to look after the matter of his appointment, and while there was a guest of Senator Harlan. For some reason the senior Senator found it necessary to withdraw his indorsement, and of course he failed to receive the appointment. Mrs. Harlan, realizing how keenly he felt the disappointment, suggested that he return to Iowa and secure the nomination for Congress. He acted on the suggestion and returned as a Member of the next House, thus starting a congressional career which, in length of service, has not been exceeded in the annals of American statesmanship and, in the point of accomplishment, not excelled in the past half century.

It was not my good fortune to have had a personal acquaintance with Senator Allison until I came to Washington as a Member of the Sixtieth Congress. I remember, however, the first visit I had with the Senator, when I called at his apartments on his invitation. In talking over the matter of what I expected in the way of committee assignments, he suggested that I ask for an assignment to a committee where the work would be congenial, stating that it was not within the compass of the human mind to fully master all the subjects of legisla-

tion; that this was an age of specialists, and a Member could serve his country best by striving to thoroughly familiarize himself with some particular line of work. I thought at that time how much Senator ALLISON had accomplished by following that course during his life in Congress.

Early in his career he secured membership on the two great committees of appropriations and finance and became an authority on matters pertaining to the work of those committees.

Senator ALLISON had a natural aptitude for legislation. His industry, tact, patience, and consideration for the views of others were valuable assets when it came to harmonizing differences of opinion on some important matter of legislation. It has been said of Senator ALLISON that he put the finishing touches on more legislation than any man who has served in Congress in the past twenty-five years.

It is seldom a man receives the full measure of credit for work performed during his lifetime by the generation in which he lived, but future historians, in reviewing the work of Congress for the past half century, will accord to Senator ALLISON no inconspicuous place in the galaxy of American statesmen.

Address of Mr. Smith, of Iowa

Mr. Speaker: William B. Allison was reared and largely educated in Ohio, but it was Iowa that gave him to the Nation and to history. It was Iowa that gave him that long tenure of public place essential to enable the country to understand so great, but so quiet and so unostentatious, a man.

The State of Iowa is not without her pride in her great Senators, Grimes, Harlan, Wright, Wilson, Kirkwood, and Gear, and her great jurists, Miller, Dillon, and McCrary, and her great soldiers, Curtis and Dodge; but never, perhaps, will the history of Iowa contain another name of which she will be so proud as that of William B. Allison.

His early life did not differ from that of thousands of American boys born and reared on frontier farms. Born of Scotch-Irish parents, David Robinson, jr., one of Allison's schoolmates at Worcester Academy and Western Reserve College, in a letter to Miss Carrie Harrison, quotes Judge John Baxter, late United States circuit judge, as saying that Senator Allison was reared on the Shorter Catechism, the Westminster Confession of Faith, and a pretty light diet on Sunday. In the lapse of nearly four-score years he never escaped from the influence of that training, and was molded by it all the days of his life.

When there came at the close of the dark ages an awakening of the human intellect, there was produced an age of scholasticism; and from that time to our own a familiarity with the classics has been regarded as almost the one essential of a liberal education. It was only yesterday that this notion began to be

abandoned at the universities. WILLIAM B. ALLISON, practical even in his boyhood, was never a brilliant success in the classics, but excelled all his associates in such practical studies as orthography and mathematics.

His public service as a Representative of Iowa commenced in 1860, when, with the Hon. William P. Hepburn and many subsequently noted in Iowa's history, he represented that State in the convention that nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency. Forty-four years later he headed the Iowa delegation to the convention that nominated Roosevelt and Fairbanks.

He became a Member of this House March 4, 1863. The other Iowa Members at that time were:

James F. Wilson, long chairman of the Judiciary Committee, one of the managers on the part of the House in the impeachment of President Johnson, and later for many years the colleague of Senator ALLISON in the Senate.

Hiram Price, who bore the reputation of being better able to tell what the people of the country wanted and would demand than any man in public life in his time.

J. B. Grinnell, a sturdy enemy of slavery, whose name has been given to a prosperous Iowa city and to an excellent and growing college within that State.

John A. Kasson, long celebrated in American politics, and a distinguished American diplomatic representative abroad, still living in this city.

There was also Judge Hubbard, the brilliant and able father of the present Member from the Eleventh District of Iowa.

That was an illustrious company Mr. ALLISON met in his first Congress: Thaddeus Stevens, Owen Lovejoy, Henry Winter Davis, Elihu B. Washburn, George W. Julian, John A. J. Creswell, George S. Boutwell, Henry L. Dawes, Reuben E. Fenton,

Robert C. Schenck, James A. Garfield, William D. Kelly, James G. Blaine, Schuyler Colfax, S. S. Cox, and George H. Pendleton.

Surrounded by such men WILLIAM B. ALLISON became, in his second term, a Member of the Ways and Means Committee of this body. That committee was then of even greater importance than now, for it had all its present jurisdiction and all that of the Committee on Appropriations, and all the appropriating jurisdiction of the Committees on Military, Naval, Foreign, and Indian Affairs, and of the Committees on Agriculture and Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

To acquire so soon an appointment on such a committee, even in the time of peace, would have been unusual, but to have acquired it during the civil war in a Congress embracing such distinguished men as I have mentioned and many more was, indeed, extraordinary.

Mr. ALLISON served eight years in this body and more than thirty-five years in the Senate. His service in the Senate was longer than was ever accorded any American citizen, and his combined service in the two Houses was longer than that of any other man in American history, save one. Those who have known him best in his later life, when sobered by time and responsibilities, have always regarded him as distinctly conservative, but in his early history he was constantly referred to as an earnest radical.

In 1878, when a free-silver bill had passed this House and the political parties were vying with each other in their efforts to pander to the sentiment for free silver, it was WILLIAM B. ALLISON who had the courage to defy public sentiment and to defeat that project, now substantially unanimously conceded to have been a highly vicious one. For more than thirty years WILLIAM B. ALLISON has been the most powerful single

individual in either House of Congress, and the statement of William E. Curtis is the simple truth, that—

> WILLIAM B. ALLISON has written more into the laws of his country than any other statesman in any nation of the world.

WILLIAM B. ALLISON was never spectacular; but he was an able, high-minded, earnest, patriotic man, with supreme confidence in his country and its future; and it is no exaggeration to say that while others have with greater dash and brilliancy accomplished more in a given length of time, his ability and nearly half a century of service have enabled him to render his country more of valuable service in the aggregate than has been rendered by any other man in the American Congress in all its history.

So applicable to Senator ALLISON are the words of Garfield concerning Senator Sherman, I use them with but slight necessary modification:

"You ask for his monument. I point you to forty-five years of national statutes. Not one great beneficent law has been placed on our statute books without his intelligent and powerful aid. He aided in formulating the laws to raise the great armies and navies which carried us through the war. His hand was seen in the workmanship of those statutes that restored and brought back 'the unity and married calm of the States.' His hand was in all that great legislation that created the war currency, and in the still greater work that redeemed the promises of the Government and made that currency equal to gold. For forty-five years he has trodden the perilous heights of public duty and against all the shafts of malice has borne his breast unharmed. He has stood in the blaze of 'that fierce light that beats against the throne,' but its fiercest ray has found no flaw in his armor and no stain upon his shield."

If all the countless hosts of those who have known and loved WILLIAM B. ALLISON were asked what his most distinguished characteristic was, each would in substance say, "His kindliness of soul."

This man made every acquaintance a friend by his loving kindness. This dear, kind, lovable old man left no immediate family to mourn his departure, but the people of this nation had become to him as his family, and, molded by a mother's Christian teachings and mellowed by age, his loving kindness took in all the children of the Republic; and so, when he died, although neither father nor mother, nor sister nor brother, nor wife nor child of his blood attended the obsequies, the people, whose friend and beloved he was, sincerely mourned.

Truly,

> Kind words are more than coronets,
> And simple faith than Norman blood.

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